

JOURNAL OF THE HELLENIC DIASPORA

VOL. XIV, Nos. 1 & 2

SPRING-SUMMER 1987

The Greeks In America

THE GREEKS IN AMERICA

by DAN GEORGAKAS

GEORGAKAS ON GREEK AMERICANS:

A RESPONSE

by CHARLES C. MOSKOS

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THE MOSKOS-GEORGAKAS DEBATE:

A REJOINDER

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THE STRUGGLE FOR A LIVING

by BABIS MALAFOURIS

PROPAGANDA IN THE GREEK-AMERICAN

COMMUNITY

(from the John Poulos Collection)

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION

AND SOCIAL MOBILITY OF

GREEK-CANADIAN IMMIGRANTS

by PETER D. CHIMBOS

BOOK REVIEWS

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The Greeks In America*

by DAN GEORGAKAS

One Greek scholar has attempted to document the proposition that Christopher Columbus was a Byzantine nobleman.¹ While that hypothesis remains dubious at best, it is likely that some Greek mariners sailed in Columbus's flotilla. Most certainly there was a Greek caulker named Theodoros on board a Spanish expedition headed by Panifilio de Navarez, which anchored in present-day Pensacola, Florida in 1528; and there were some five hundred 'Greeks, mainly from Mani, among the 1,400 colonists who founded the ill-fated community of New Smyrna, in Florida, in 1768. During the subsequent hundred years, however, Greek involvement with North America was minimal. There were many years when fewer than fifty identifiable Greeks immigrated to America. That pattern began to change in the 1890s. Of the 19,000 Greeks who immigrated to North America in all of the nineteenth century, fully 16,000 arrived during its last decade. This figure swelled tenfold to 167,500 in the first decade of the new century, and by 1940 no fewer than a half-million Greek immigrants had put down roots in the United States.²

The history of the 1890-1950 period has been slow to emerge. By the time the first professional histories began to appear in the 1960s, Greeks had become among the most prosperous of the immigrant groups, enjoying a reputation as hard-working, clever, and patriotic folk. In some ways, the Greek-Americans were the prototypical rags-to-riches European immigrants and, unlike the

*An earlier version of this essay appeared as a six-part series in *The Greek-American* (Oct. 11, 1986-Nov. 15, 1986). The exchange of views between Moskos, Georgakas, and Kitroeff followed in successive weeks.

¹Charles C. Moskos, Jr., *The Greek Americans: Struggle and Success* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980) begins a discussion of this and related topics.

²Immigration and Naturalization Services, 1965 *Annual Reports*, pp. 47-49; *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1972, p. 92; and Immigration and Naturalization Services 1976 *Annual Reports*, pp. 87-88.

group they most resembled, the Jews, they had a "public relations" advantage because they were Christian. Writing out of that reality, ethnic histories have tended to emphasize those groups and trends which came to dominate what became the formal community; and, as a consequence of this hindsight approach, such accounts have neglected or misrepresented the vigor of dissenting movements and the often turbulent history of the Greek working class.

Few Greek Americans of the post-war generations are aware that the pioneer Greek immigrants were among America's most despised minorities, considered to be unruly and unpatriotic quasi-Europeans who frequently resorted to violent means to settle personal—and political—disputes. While aware that Greek immigrants served as strikebreakers, Greek Americans are usually not aware that, subsequently, those same workers were often leaders in American trade union struggles. Greek Americans who identified automatically with white America during the civil rights turmoil of the 1960s did not know that the first wave of Greeks had often fought, gun-in-hand, against the Ku Klux Klan and state militias in order to establish their political rights. A group of Greeks in the 1920s even went so far as to burn an American flag as a gesture of political outrage.³

Modern Greek immigration falls into four general periods: 1890–1922, 1923–1939, 1940–1959, and 1960 to the present. The first of these periods was, by far, the most trying and remains the least understood. At that junction in time, at least ninety percent of the immigrants were male, and the community was consumed with a passion to liberate unredeemed Greece (those Greek-speaking areas of the Mediterranean, Thrace, Epirus, Macedonia, and Asia Minor that were still under non-Greek rule, dominated primarily by the Ottoman Empire). Coincident with the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922, which largely fixed the boundaries of what became the contemporary Greek state, the Greek community in America became more stabilized, and a steady increase in female immigration produced a new family orientation. The major issue that came to face Greek men and women was the

³Helen Papanikolas, "Greek Workers in the Intermountain West—The Early Twentieth Century," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, Volume 5, 1979, p. 212.

degree to which Greeks would assimilate into American culture, a question which blurred some of the earlier political and class divisions as the community overcame its initial poverty—a decisive forward momentum that was checked by the Great Depression.

When Greek peasants wrote *OXI* on the mountainsides of Greece in 1940 and the Greek nation rallied to defeat Mussolini's forces, the Greeks in America were profoundly affected in terms of both their public image and self-image. The "quarrelsome" Greeks, with their complex political problems and uneven military record, were suddenly transformed, becoming the first nation in the world to militarily defeat a fascist power. Patriotic fervor swept Greek America. An all-out effort to defeat the Axis Powers and to assist the Greek resistance produced a temporary, but dynamic, Greek American community leadership run by a coalition of liberal and radical forces. That alliance fell apart as a consequence of the Civil War in Greece (1946–1949) and the rise of McCarthyism in the United States. Liberals distanced themselves from their former radical associates, some of whom were actually deported or jailed, and most of whom were systematically silenced.

Concurrent with this political fragmentation on the left, the community consolidated and extended the economic gains it made in the war years. A new era in Greek American life was clearly evident by the 1960s. The formal community was now dominated by the Greek Orthodox Church, business interests, and politicians who accepted the premises of the Cold War. The military dictatorship in Greece (1967–1974) and a new immigrant wave eventually revived some traditions of protest, but Greek American dissenters and radicals remained a distinct minority.

The changing nature of the Greek community, the controversies which periodically inflamed it, and the trends which ultimately dominated it can be followed in the development of four major institutions: the Greek Orthodox Church, the Greek-language press, the national Greek social organizations, and the ethnic centers known as "Greektowns." Central to the change in these institutions remained the issue of whether Greeks, like other European immigrants, were to be Americanized as soon as possible, or whether, like the Greeks of Alexandria, they would be part of a permanent diaspora—a diaspora in which they would function as loyal citizens of the United States while retaining a distinctive culture. Their

mother tongue would be Greek: they would be Greeks in America, not Greek Americans, and, most certainly, not Americans.

The Greek Orthodox Church

For nearly fifty years, the most persistent champion of the concept of a Greek diaspora was the Greek Orthodox Church. Its schools promoted the Greek language, its activities were conducted in Greek, and its priests railed against marriage to non-Greeks as well as any other behavior which threatened the "Greekness" of the community. As an inevitable consequence of this policy, the greater the degree of Americanization among the children and grandchildren of immigrants, and the higher their education, the more likely they would be distant from the Church. For such Greeks, the Church epitomized the rigid preservation of a peasant culture spiritually rooted in Byzantine theology. Marriage to non-Greeks frequently meant loss of the children to the Church, and even when there was nominal baptism or marriage within the Church, active membership was rare.

The perspective of the Church changed dramatically after the Second World War. Clergy born or educated in the United States began to dominate not only the American hierarchy, but also the hierarchy throughout the world, a process capped by the naming of Athenagoras as patriarch of Constantinople. This new, more highly educated clergy understood that if the Church were to survive in the United States, English must become its language. Theologians began to argue that the Orthodox Church in North America must speak the native language, just as Orthodox churches in all nations spoke the dominant national tongue. Services as well as sermons began to take on a heavier and heavier English component. The concept of the Greek diaspora was not explicitly dropped, but in absolute terms disappeared. The new emphasis on Americanization became evident in the successful effort to have Orthodoxy recognized by the federal government as a Christian subdivision of faith, coequal with Protestantism and Catholicism. Such recognition allowed for the presence of Orthodox clergy in various state processes, including chaplains in the military.

Americanization also became evident in the daily interaction

of clergy and laity. Just as public education in urban areas declined in quality and safety, the Church created parochial schools which emphasized general education in English as their major mandate. Instruction in Greek language and culture remained important, but was secondary. Church parishes took on an American hue through the sponsorship of athletic teams, boy/girl scout groups, senior citizen activities, cultural circles, and the like. Rather than discouraging cross-marriages, the emphasis shifted to welcoming Christian non-Greek partners and making them comfortable within Orthodoxy.

An administrative metamorphosis accompanied the policy changes. Originally, any individual Orthodox church was under the strict control of its local secular church board. This group hired and fired priests, many of whom had no more education than the board members. The political and even theological views of the board dominated the parish: a royalist priest would not be tolerated by a republican parish and vice versa. The churches functioned much as independent city-states, and, while catholic theologically, they were structurally congregationalist.

The prevailing power ratio was reversed in the post-war era, with religious ecumenism playing a major psychological role. The Church renewed its ties with Episcopalians and made a historic reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church. The mutual embrace of pope and patriarch and the lifting of centuries-old anathemas made international headlines. Orthodox Church leaders also became increasingly visible in national affairs: Greek prelates marched with Martin Luther King in the South, and were seen flanking mayors, governors, senators, and even presidents. Such prestige, and the growing administrative acumen of the clergy, particularly under the astute leadership of archbishop Iakovos, brought local church boards under a more centralized authority. New accounting procedures increased total church revenues, with much of the increased income falling under the direct control of the clergy. The secular boards still existed, but in the new relationship became the junior partners. By the 1980s, the Church had established itself as the fulcrum of the formal community, and its many educational and cultural initiatives positioned it to continue in that role for the foreseeable future.

The Greek Language Press

If the Orthodox Church was the original shield for the concept of a diaspora community, the Greek-language press was its sword. The first Greek-language newspaper appeared in 1892, and from 1905 onward at least one national Greek-language daily and usually two or more were published. In addition to the national dailies, local dailies and scores of weeklies and monthlies have flourished. The vast majority of these have been dedicated to a specific political point of view; a smaller number have been satirical and or cultural publications.

The major division within the Greek-language press has always been along a broad conservative-liberal axis, with the immediate touchstone being support of or opposition to the existing Greek government. *Atlantis* (1894–1973) was always a royalist bastion which generally supported the Republican Party in the United States; however, during its first twenty years of existence, its royalist designation was not as meaningful as it would be later. Many immigrants identified the monarch as the rallying figure for all Greeks who wished to liberate unredeemed Greece, but were not necessarily economic or social conservatives. Immigrant interest in the Balkan Wars pushed circulation of *Atlantis* to over 30,000 in 1914, a figure higher than any Athenian daily of the period.

The dominance of *Atlantis* was challenged in 1915 with the founding of *Ethnikos Keryx* (*The National Herald*). The new paper backed Eleftherios Venizelos, prime minister since 1910 and head of the Liberal Party in Greece. Supporting the Democratic Party in the US, *Keryx* was the voice of a republican movement that wished to couple social reform with national liberation. *Keryx* was soon circulating over 20,000 copies, and for the next decade the two newspapers would share equally about 70,000 readers. With the Great Depression, *Keryx*, which supported the New Deal, saw its circulation fall to 13,000, while *Atlantis* held steady with a circulation of just over 20,000.

In relation to the relative strength of the republican and royalist movements, the circulation of the newspapers was deceptive. Reports in the Greek and American press attest to the greater

strength of the republicans. An American trip by Venizelos in the early 1920s became a personal triumph when he received tumultuous welcomes everywhere he appeared. Republican rallies could bring out over 10,000 sympathizers, while royalist affairs were lucky to achieve half that figure. Despite this disparity in numbers, the bitterness between the factions was intense, often erupting in fistfights that had to be quelled by the local police.

Following the Asia Minor Disaster, support for the monarchy waned. It hit a low during the late 1930s, when the monarchy/military alliance under the Metaxas dictatorship was viewed correctly as being pro-German. The Second World War resurrected the old antagonism in a new form. *Atlantis* supported the government-in-exile in the Middle East, which had shed most of its visible Metaxas connections and was agreeable to Anglo-American plans for post-war Greece. *Keryx*, in contrast, supported the national armed resistance in occupied Greece, more particularly the radical EAM-ELAS (National Liberation Front/National Popular Liberation Army) alliance. Reports filed by the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) of the US State Department, forerunner of today's CIA, stated that a new republican/radical coalition was clearly the most popular among Greek Americans.⁴ This situation changed dramatically when the Greek Civil War pit the Communist Party of Greece and its sympathizers against an odd alliance of liberals, monarchists, and former collaborators. *Atlantis* supported the government, while *Keryx* began a long drift to the right. When McCarthyite repression hit the Greek American community, neither paper defended the trade unionists, scholars, and former government employees who were its major victims. Both papers, anxious not to be tainted with charges of Communist sympathies, strove to be identified with American foreign policy.

Although the *Atlantis-Keryx* rivalry became legendary, the two national dailies did not have the publishing arena entirely to themselves.⁵ Especially in Chicago, the bastion of Greek republican-

⁴Constantine G. Yavis, Foreign Agents Registration Section, War Division, Department of Justice, *Propaganda in the Greek American-Community*, April 21, 1944, pp. 1-8. This report is available in the John Poulos Collection, Tamiment Library, NYU. Also, see Elias Vlantou (compiler), "Documents: The O.S.S. and Greek-Americans," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, Vol. IX, Nos. 1-3, 1982. These documents were obtained through the Freedom of Information Act.

⁵John G. Zenelis, "A Bibliographic Guide on Greek Americans," in Harry J.

ism, an active local press existed. The first wave of Greek immigrants to Chicago had been greatly influenced by Jane Addams and her Hull House staff;⁶ as a result, Greeks felt free to make political demands on local and state governments, and they passed into the trade union movement as a matter of course. And the Chicago Greek press gained the distinction of being, arguably, the most shrill in North America, from the anti-royalist *Hellas*, which was particularly militant, to the first major English-language Greek press.

Newspapers published outside New York or Chicago tended to be more concerned with local needs or served some regional group, ethnic subdivision, or other special audience. The liveliest of Greek periodicals were the satirical publications which appeared everywhere but were more prevalent in the Northeast. Their irreverent puns, cartoons, and sketches carried on an unceasing attack on all established order, including the monarchy, the Church, the military, and the super-rich. Among the most long-lived of these were *O Daimonios (The Demon)*, published in Lynn from 1908-1923, and *Satyros (The Satyr)*, published in New York from 1917-1947.

The conservative drift begun during the Civil War years became so pronounced that no major Greek-language newspaper in the US raised an outcry when a group of colonels, allied with the king, established a dictatorship in Greece in 1967. Only at the tail end of the junta did *Keryx*, among others, begin to express disapproval. Three years after the junta's fall in 1974, *Proini (The Morning Daily)* was founded, and generally supported the socialist movement headed by Andreas Papandreou, who became prime minister in 1981. Probably neither *Proini* nor *Keryx* could have survived without the new influx of immigrants who settled in the Astoria, Queens section of New York City, where both newspapers were published.⁷ But despite these new readers, both newspapers were aware of the linguistic handwriting on the wall:

Psomiades and Alice Scourby (editors), *The Greek American Community in Transition* (New York: Pella Publishing, 1982), pp. 266-270.

⁶Andrew T. Kopan, "Greek Survival in Chicago," in Peter d'A. Jones and Melvin G. Holli (editors), *Ethnic Chicago* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1981), pp. 109-116.

⁷Dan Georgakas, "Astoria: A Greek Village in New York," *Greek Accent*, February, 1981, pp. 20-27.

in the 1980s, *Keryx* produced the English-language bimonthly magazine *Greek Accent*, and *Proini* brought out an English-language weekly newspaper which eventually took the name *The GreekAmerican* in 1986.

Standard histories of Greeks in America have been so taken with the royalist-republican struggles that the labor-oriented and socialist presses have been almost totally ignored. Among the earliest newspapers were *Ergates* (*The Worker*), published in New Hampshire before the First World War, and *Organosis* (*The Organization*), a newspaper of the Socialist Labor Party which began during the First World War and continued irregularly thereafter for a decade. The dynamic Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) issued two organizing pamphlets in Greek which seem to have circulated primarily in areas west of the Mississippi.⁸ Full-length books addressing labor and socialist issues in Greek also appeared relatively early during the immigration cycle. Two of these were Maria Sarantopoulou Ekomonidou's *The Greeks of America As I Saw Them* (New York, 1916), a devastating account of the horrible working conditions faced by Greeks in the American West, and George Katsiolis's *The Crimes of Civilization* (Chicago, 1922), a broad survey of socialist alternatives in the United States.⁹

From the 1920s onward, radical publications in Greek were almost always produced by individuals associated with the Communist Party of America. The most extraordinary of these was a succession of newspapers published in New York City: *Phone tou Ergatou* (*Voice of the Worker*), 1918–1923; *Empros* (*Forward*), 1923–1938; *Eleftheria* (*Freedom*), 1938–1941; and *Helleno-Amerikaniko Vema* (*Greek-American Tribune*), 1941 through the early 1950s. This remarkable forty-year span of continuous publication indicates the existence of a significant Greek-speaking audience for Marxist ideas. In the 1940s, the 10,000-reader weekly circulation often reached by *Vema* was not very distant from either the 13,000-daily circulation of *Keryx* or the 16,000-daily circulation of *Atlantis*. OSS figures show the combined circulation

⁸Available in the Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI. Titles are: "What is the IWW?" and "Economic Interpretation of the Job."

⁹Available in the John Poulos Collection, Tamiment Library, New York University.

of all radical and republican papers greatly exceeded the combined circulation of the royalist press.¹⁰

The Social Organizations

The social organizations established by Greeks tended to have a narrow focus, uniting immigrants from a region, subregion, or even a single village. Political concerns were usually secondary, unless the society involved itself with an issue such as the union of Cyprus with Greece or the redemption of Greek-speaking areas in Albania. The two national organizations which eventually emerged, the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association (AHEPA) and the Greek-American Progressive Association (GAPA), were of a different nature, but focused on life in the United States as each's major concern.

As Theodore Saloutos pointed out in his deeply-flawed but landmark study, *The Greeks in the United States* (Harvard University Press, 1964), the first letters of the AHEPA and GAPA acronyms tell all—A for America, and G for Greece. AHEPA, founded in 1922, was unabashedly assimilationist. Its organizational language was English, and its programs were created to obtain full constitutional rights for Greek Americans. Of immediate concern to AHEPA's programs was the racism faced by so many Greek immigrants: of the original thirty-three chapters, all but three were in the South and Southwest, where Greeks frequently fought with the Ku Klux Klan.¹¹ And, from the start, AHEPA attracted Greek professionals and businessmen who were as comfortable with their American colleagues as they were with their ethnic com-

¹⁰Various O.S.S. reports of the 1940s put the circulation of the *Vema* at between 5,000 and 8,500. Demosthenes Nikas, an editorial board member of the newspaper, stated in a 1987 interview on file with the Oral History of the American Left project at Tamiment Library, New York University, that circulation reached 10,000. As most Greeks familiar with publishing, he believes the circulation figures of the Greek dailies were inflated. Although Nikas's long involvement with the Communist Party was well known, he served as an organizer for the United Steel Workers-CIO in the 1930s, organizing both Greeks and nonGreeks. His radical activism began with a brief membership in the IWW during the mid-teens.

¹¹The most accepted theory on the history of AHEPA is that one of the factors behind its launching was that it would oppose the Ku Klux Klan and similar groups. Some individuals have argued, however, that AHEPA consciously imitated

patriots. In contrast, GAPA, founded in 1923 as a conscious response to AHEPA, extolled "Greekness." Its organizational language was Greek, and at one point it contended that anyone not of the Greek Orthodox faith was not truly Greek. GAPA charged that AHEPA was actually anti-Greek, and that its policies would result in the destruction of Greek culture in America.

The Greek Orthodox Church in the 1920s clearly preferred GAPA to AHEPA. Traditionalists of all stripes, in fact, rallied to GAPA, but there was no neat reproduction of the royalist-republican split. Many republicans were cultural traditionalists, and many royalists were aggressively pro-Americanization. Both GAPA and AHEPA spun off female and youth affiliates, but the tide was clearly against GAPA. As late as December 19, 1939, only months before Greece became embroiled in war, the *Tribune* of GAPA reiterated that its organizational priorities were "the preservation and dissemination of Greek ideals and especially of the immortal Greek language and of the life-giving Orthodox faith."¹² A year earlier at its 1938 convention, AHEPA had addressed more immediate issues. Positions were adopted denouncing fascism and antisemitism, and resolutions were passed advocating democracy for all nations, while speakers warned that Metaxas might drag Greece into an alliance with Nazi Germany. AHEPA vowed to do everything in its power to save the Greek people from "the miasma of fascism."¹³

AHEPA's orientation received the greater response from Greek Americans. By 1940, AHEPA had three hundred chapters, about the same as the number of Orthodox churches at the time, and 20,000 members. GAPA had approximately half as many chapters and members. The difference in power was even greater than the numbers indicate, because AHEPA's membership was better educated, more affluent, and more influential. With the change in Church policies after the war, and the triumph of Americanization, AHEPA easily retained its dominance.

the Ku Klux Klan in structure, sought its approval, and was itself racist in terms of discriminating against blacks. Another factor in the founding of both AHEPA and GAPA was the health and life insurance benefits usually associated with ethnic societies.

¹²Yavis, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

¹³Theodore Saloutos, *The Greeks in the United States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 343.

As in the case of the press, there was a leftist alternative to both AHEPA and GAPA which had a brief period of impact. This was the Greek section of the International Workers' Order (IWO), a social welfare organization created by the Communist Party which included many non-Communist members. At its peak in the 1940s, the Greek IWO had thirty lodges in various industrial areas and a thousand dues-paying members. A unique aspect of the IWO was its working-class character. One IWO lodge in Brooklyn consisted entirely of restaurant workers; one in Manhattan was an extension of a Greek fur workers union; and there were six lodges in mill towns in Massachusetts.¹⁴ This orientation gave the IWO a voice in American trade unions which became heard in positions and activities underwritten by various CIO and AFL unions regarding Greek-related issues.

Greektowns

The history of Greektowns parallels the shifting fortunes and perspectives of the Greeks in America. At the turn of the century, Greektowns were true ethnic ghettos where immigrants spent almost the whole of their non-working day. Conditions were among the worst of all American slums, and municipalities offered few public services. The heart of these communities were always its coffeehouses, usually replicas of the traditional village *kafenion*. In the Lowell of 1910, for example, there were more than twenty coffeehouses in the few blocks of ethnic commerce; other establishments included seven restaurants, twelve barber shops, six fruit stores, eight shoeshine parlors, seven bakeries, twenty-two grocery stores, and four candy shops.¹⁵

Using the *kafenion* as headquarters, the few bilingual and literate Greeks handled correspondence with the homeland and negotiations with new world institutions. Here, a man could ask about employment and marriage opportunities, enjoy a game of cards, and debate political issues. Many *kafenions* had regional or political constituencies which were reflected in names such as

¹⁴IWO files in the Poulos Collection, Tamiment Library, New York University.

¹⁵Lawrence Guy Brown, *Immigration—Cultural and Social Adjustments* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), p. 216.

"The Peloponnesian," "Spartakos," and "The Constitution." These *kafenions* slowly lost their central place in Greek life, but they remained important male bastions even as late as the 1950s. By this time, Greektowns were meeting places for Greeks who had scattered throughout a city or region, centers in which to buy ethnic products and to enjoy ethnic entertainments. Married men used Greektowns as homes-away-from-home, where they could meet old friends over a cup of Greek coffee or in a Greek barber shop. For the unwed immigrant males who populated the rented rooms of Greektowns, the *kafenion* remained a communal living-room.

Always coexisting with the *kafenion* were establishments many American commentators also dubbed coffeeshouses, but which actually were *tavernas*. These establishments offered live music and the opportunity to dance. They might also feature female dancers, singers, karaghiozis shows, weightlifting exhibitions, and even wrestling matches. In the back room were serious games of chance and occasionally, prostitutes. From such *tavernas* emerged various types of nightclubs which became familiar to Americans of the post-1960s; their most obvious successors were honky-tonk cabarets catering to sailors and conventioners. These could be found in port cities like New Orleans and in tourist attractions such as New York's Eighth Avenue of the 1970s.

The dominant music in Greek clubs was *bouzouki* and, in some cases, the soulful, bluesy music called *rembetiko*. Legendary players from Greece performed in Chicago and New York for years on end. During the greater part of an evening they played standard fare, but certain periods were set aside for them to play in their distinctive, individual styles. Recordings of these and traditional folk musicians began to be made in New York early in the century, and are now considered collectors' items by *aficionados* of Greek music.

Music, in fact, proved to be the most important cultural legacy of the immigrants who created little Greek-language literature or Greek-oriented visual art. Even after most nightclubs began to cater to American tastes, there remained those which featured authentic sounds or explored new trends. In the post-junta period, major performers such as Mikis Theodorakis filled large concert halls on their American tours, and small cabarets offered music

every bit as good and innovative as their Athenian counterparts. At the non-commercial level, the community which had spawned musical talents as varied as those of the Andrews sisters and Maria Callas continued to maintain choral and dance groups with cross-generational participation. One irony of this rich musical continuity was that Greeks in America preserved certain traditions more faithfully than their homeland counterparts whose habits were ravaged by world war, then civil war, and, finally, dictatorship. (An example of such a phenomenon involves Epirote musician Periklis Halkias, a resident of Astoria. Halkias and his musical cohorts were invited by the government of Andreas Papandreou not only to tour Greece, but also to perform and teach traditional music).¹⁶

The *taverna* environment had other social spinoffs. Wrestling was the major sport of the pioneer immigrants, and many Greeks became professionals. The two most famous were Jim "The Golden Greek" Londos, who became a world champion in the 1930s, and George Zaharias, who wed the woman who became America's most celebrated female athlete: Babe Didrikson. An unsavory aspect of the sport was its underworld links. As a rule, Greeks were not much attracted to organized crime—but they did have a real passion for gambling, whether dice, cards, horses, numbers, or sporting events. The general attitude was that, far from being a crime, gambling was a natural right the state should not interfere with. Poker player Nick the Greek became an American legend in the 1930s, and was later installed as an official host when Las Vegas was opened as the center for legalized gambling.¹⁷ In the 1970s and 1980s, Jimmy the Greek, a Las Vegas odds-maker, became a celebrity on national television and radio sports programs. Behind the glamorous names was a Greek presence in the gambling syndicates. Greektown restaurants were often rumored to have "hot" money behind them, and raids on gambling operations in the back rooms of Greektowns made an occasional local headline.

A fundamental change in the nature of Greektowns took place

¹⁶"*Epirotika* with Periklis Halkias," Folkways Records, 1982, FSS 34024.

¹⁷Dan Georgakas, "The Story Teller," *Greek Accent*, September/October, 1983, p. 50, contains a discussion with Harry Mark Petrakis about Nick the Greek. Petrakis did extensive research on the subject before writing a novel of the same name.

in the 1960s. The motion picture *Never On Sunday* (1960), directed by American Jules Dassin and featuring an all-Greek cast headed by Melina Mercouri, proved to be a cultural blockbuster. Non-Greeks flocked to Greektowns to hear *bouzouki*, break dishes, and eat Greek food. The success of *Zorba the Greek* (1965) reinforced the trend. As real estate values soared, *kafenions*, specialty shops, and single-room rentals began to disappear. *Tavernas* which might have featured clarinets and *santouris* were doomed if they did not switch to amplified *bouzouki*. Flaming cheese dishes were introduced by restaurant operators who switched their focus to a new, non-Greek clientele. By the 1980s, only Astoria remained as a genuine ethnic community; elsewhere, Greektowns became tourist centers. In Chicago, glitzy restaurants were all that remained of the once vibrant North Halstead community, which now lived only in the English-language short stories and novels of Harry Mark Petrakis. An even more complete integration with American commerce took place when non-Greek urban shopping malls were constructed in the centers of the major Greektowns in Detroit¹⁸ and Tarpon Springs.¹⁹ Greektowns became little more than a delightful spice consumed by the omnivorous American melting pot.

The Far West

The most violent episodes in Greek American history involve the thousands of Greek males who worked throughout the West in the early decades of the twentieth century. The exact number of these workers has not been established, but by 1910 in the intermountain states of Utah, Montana, Colorado, Wyoming, and Idaho there were at least 11,000 Greek workers.²⁰ Proportional numbers of Greeks appear to have worked in California, Oregon, and Washington. Almost all of these men were part of an army

¹⁸Dan Georgakas, "Detroit's Greektown: Endangered Species," *Weekly Review (Proini)*, May 4, 1984, page 1. This report outlines the struggle of Greektown merchants against nonGreek developers. The struggle eventually was lost.

¹⁹Dan Georgakas, "Tarpon Springs," *Greek Accent*, January, 1982, p. 21, discusses community efforts to prevent the old Sponge Exchange from being made into a mall by Greek developers. The mall was eventually built.

²⁰Helen Papanikolas, "Greek Workers in the Intermountain West: The Early Twentieth Century," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. V, 1979, p. 187.

of unskilled itinerants that supplied the American labor scene with workers during that era. Greeks worked in the lumber, mine, and construction industries, and for a time were predominant in the laying of railroad tracks. In the late teens, Greeks made up nearly twenty-two percent of the work force on the nine western railroads. A decade later, that percentage fell to two percent, with Mexicans becoming dominant in numbers.

Wages were so meager for the itinerant worker that an individual could count it a good month when he did not accumulate new debts. Working conditions were hazardous, and immigrants generally received the lowest compensation while being assigned the most perilous chores. An additional burden for Greeks was that nearly all were hired under the labor agent system. This schema provided for workers to be hired in major cities, such as Chicago and New York, and then transported as part of work gangs to worksites in the West. The worker paid a fee to get the job, and then a percentage of all subsequent wages. Labor agents also instructed immigrants that they were not allowed to strike or join unions. The first jobs offered were often as strikebreakers or union busters in disputes where the abolition of labor agents, improved working conditions, and better wages were the issues. Labor agents who worked with Greeks frequently recruited Christian Albanians and Lebanese as well, and those groups often could be found working alongside Greeks.

The most infamous Greek labor agent was Leonidis G. Skliris. He operated out of Salt Lake City, Utah, and was dubbed "Czar of the Greeks." His underlings recruited in Greece as well as America. In addition to job fees, agents often took commissions on money sent home by their clients: all too often, the agents pocketed the entire sum. Other swindles involved persuading illiterates to sign contracts in which they gave up their ownership of property in Greece. These schemes were most effective with the newly-arrived. When workers realized how they had been created or exploited, physical assault and even murder of the most unscrupulous agents was not uncommon—incidents which gave Greeks a poor reputation among Americans. Although these attacks curbed the avarice of labor agents, Greeks quickly understood that only an assault on the entire hiring system would end their woes permanently. The turning point in this struggle came

in 1912, when Cretan copper miners took on none other than Czar Skliris himself.

The Western Federation of Miners (WFM) had been trying to organize the Bingham copper miners, just outside Salt Lake City, for years. Greeks had been attracted only minimally until getting rid of labor agents was added to the list of WFM demands. At that point, Greeks joined in huge numbers and virtually took over the leadership of the strike. A good many of the miners had fought against the Turks in Crete, and they now applied the techniques of guerrilla war to the strike. Their first move was to occupy the higher ground around the mine: any strikebreaker who attempted to enter was warned off by accurate rifle fire. Armed company guards and local police forces could not dislodge the Greeks. An attempt to starve them out failed when Greek daredevils, under cover of darkness, resupplied the strikers, who were willing to exist on the scantiest of provisions. Eventually the mine owners had to capitulate. Although the WFM was not recognized as a bargaining agent, the labor agent system was ended, wages were raised, and improvements in safety standards were made.

The 1912 gunplay at Bingham was not untypical. The new Greek immigrants readily adapted to what was the last of the frontier West. Their willingness to use rifles and dynamite in labor confrontations was not as unusual in the West as it would have been in the East or Midwest. The WFM had long organized worker militias and stockpiled arms, and the IWW advocated industrial sabotage. There was also a tradition of violence in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) construction unions and the United Mine Workers (UMW).

A racial factor spurred the organizational fervor of the Greeks. As far as most Americans were concerned, the Greeks were the scum of Europe. Consequently, Greeks were often barred from labor camps for "whites" and were forced to bivouac with racial minorities. Frequent neighbors in mining camps were the Japanese, a group with whom Greeks also shared dangerous dynamiting assignments. The two groups became quite cordial with one another, an affinity enhanced by their joint fondness for gambling and wrestling. The Greeks were constantly surprised that the generally smaller Japanese were usually able to best them

in the martial arts, but liked to brag they were the better drinkers and gamblers. In job actions, Greeks usually were more aggressive, but, as at Bingham, the Japanese invariably followed the Greek lead.

The racial antagonism toward Greeks was omnipresent. Among the most well-documented incidents were the burning of the Greek section in South Omaha, Nebraska, in 1909,²¹ and the expulsion by boat of Greek lumber workers from Gray's Harbor, Washington in 1912.²² More common were city ordinances which discriminated against Greeks, blacks, and Mexicans. In Pocatella, Idaho, for example, Greeks were restricted to segregated seating in theaters and could not live in most neighborhoods. Greeks early in the century had already begun to make inroads into the California restaurant industry; the reaction of many native-born Americans was expressed in a sign displayed in one restaurant window: "Pure American. No Rats. No Greeks."²³

Greeks inadvertently fed anti-Greek passions with their unwillingness to learn English or accept Americanization. For most, the time spent in America was to be a brief interlude during which they accumulated cash for prosperity in Greece. In the Utah of 1910 there were only ten females among 4,072 Greek inhabitants. Americans justly asserted that the nomadic Greeks were much more interested in unredeemed Greece than in the United States. Some 20,000 Greeks from the United States went back to fight in the Balkan Wars, and at least 40,000 fought in the First World War and the subsequent campaign in Asia Minor. Americans were upset when Greeks refused to volunteer for the American army until promises were made about the future of Greek areas still under foreign rule. Nor could Americans fathom Greek music, or the habits of males so traditional that they often arrived with *foustanelas*, headbands, and sashes in their bags.²⁴

Helen Papanikolas, a major researcher of the intermountain Greeks, has argued that the Western Greeks were mainly motivated

²¹Saloutos, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

²²Philip S. Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the World: 1905-1917* (New York: International Publishers, 1965), pp. 221-224.

²³Saloutos, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

²⁴Helen Papanikolas (editor), *The Peoples of Utah* (Salt Lake City, UT: State Historical Society, 1976), p. 410.

by feelings of *philotimo*: pride in their region and in Greekness. But her own work undermines her thesis, showing that Greeks fought most of their battles along economic lines, frequently leading large numbers of non-Greeks. A case in point was the Greek role played in the Colorado coal strike of 1913-1914, an action led by the UMW and involving national figures such as the legendary socialist, Mother Jones.²⁵ At Ludlow, the local leadership fell to a group of about fifty Greeks headed by Louis Tikas, a Cretan. After months of turmoil in which there were numerous violent incidents, the military assaulted the tent colony of strikers and their families in an effort to drive them out with flames and machine-gun fire. An exact toll of the dead was never made, but the known dead totaled over thirty men, women, and children. Among the murdered was Louis Tikas, who had saved countless lives by repeatedly rescuing individuals trapped during the attack. The Ludlow Massacre provoked investigations and national and international outrage, but the guilty were never punished. Ludlow took its place in American labor history, alongside events such as the Haymarket Square Affair and the Triangle Fire, and Louis Tikas entered the pantheon of American labor martyrs.²⁶

The Ludlow Massacre proved to be a major setback in organizing the coal fields, but it did not mark the end of Greek militancy. For another twenty years and more, Greeks were highly visible in working class struggles, and, quite often, they were singled out as the most militant of the militant. They were referred to as "indomitable" and "experienced veterans of the Balkan Wars." The *Salt Lake City Herald* of September 19, 1912 described Cretans as "famed as men who, when the spirit moves them to fight, are difficult to control."²⁷ A year later, a newspaper in the Ludlow area quoted a Greek striker as saying, "The miners' union is greater than the United States government and

²⁵Mother Jones, *The Autobiography of Mother Jones* (Chicago, IL: Charles H. Keer Publishing Company, rev. ed., 1980), p. 178-194.

²⁶Philip S. Foner, *The AFL in the Progressive Era: 1910-1915* (New York: International Publishers, 1980), pp. 204-205 comments on the role of Greek leadership very differently from the folkloric orientation of Zeese Papanikolas, *Buried Unsung: Louis Tikas and the Ludlow Massacre* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1982).

²⁷Helen Papanikolas, "Greek Workers in the Intermountain West," *op. cit.*, p. 205.

when the union gives the word to fire upon soldiers, we will obey the order."²⁸ Whether the story is apocrypha or reality, it accurately reflected the militant image of the Greek miner.

The strong degree of truth in that image is seen in activities of the Greeks in Utah during the 1920s. Some 3,000 Greeks were involved in a national strike called by the UMW in 1922. During the course of the conflict, a Greek striker was killed, setting off angry demonstrations which culminated in the burning of an American flag. Such anger was linked to the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan, which had identified all immigrants as inferior and placed Greeks at the top of the not-wanted list. Greeks met the Ku Klux Klan head on. In one incident, Greeks forcibly disrobed Ku Klux Klan members in a Salt Lake City park and discovered they were prominent citizens. To protect themselves from such "respectables," Greeks joined with Italians and Slavs to form armed defense committees. During this period in the mid-1920s, at least one black was lynched, and many Greeks believed that Mormons were using the Ku Klux Klan to intimidate labor. If the Ku Klux Klan was so being used, the tactic backfired. Greeks bonded together as never before, and forged strong links to other ethnic groups. There were no cross burnings or whippings in their ethnic centers and, eventually, the Ku Klux Klan threat waned.

A small but persistent influx of Greek women slowly brought some stability to the Greek communities. Some Greeks opened businesses or began to herd sheep, but the majority remained common laborers. Formal institutions like the Greek Orthodox Church were slow to develop, and the circulation of Greek-language newspapers was spotty. Church dues and other community records indicate the Greeks in the West were still relatively poor when the Great Depression struck. How many Greeks might have left the region and shipped for home at that time is unknown. Nor is it known how many married non-Greeks and had families without passing on a Greek heritage to their offspring. What is certain is that a considerable number of males never married and drifted to the fringes of society, living out their lives in run-down hotels and meeting at *kafenions* and diners. These marginal men might account for the marked Greek presence in much of the

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 201.

hard-boiled popular fiction of the 1930s, most notably in the work of Dashiell Hammett as well as in the fiction of James Cain, Ellery Queen, and Nelson Algren.²⁹

The Greeks in the West have left few written records, and the oral tradition has been poorly preserved. What does exist reveals workers speaking the language of militant industrial unionism. Before the inception of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), Greeks were likely to belong to the UMW, but there was also interaction with the WFM and IWW. The Gray's Harbor Strike of 1912, which also involved Austrians and Finns, was called the IWW-Greek Strike, and Greeks were involved in IWW actions from the Mesabi iron ore range in Minnesota to California's agricultural areas such as Wheatland.³⁰ Louis Theos (Theodoropoulos) has been identified as an IWW organizer who worked undercover in the Colorado strikes of the 1910s, and Nick Boorhus, a seaman, emerged as an IWW cartoonist in the 1930s. But the main impact of the early years of struggle was a trade-unionist rather than a radical orientation. The Communist Party and left-wing press received a minimal response from Greeks west of the Mississippi, even in the 1930s and 1940s.

Lasting prosperity for the Greeks in the West did not come until the 1940s, and it was only then that American patriotism and the English language went unchallenged. The terms on which Greeks finally merged with mainstream America, their continuing role in the workplace, the influence of marginal men, and the strength of alliances with other ethnic groups remain unresolved issues. What is clear is that for the first four decades of the twentieth century, Greeks in the West mounted courageous struggles for trade unionism and civil rights, and, in doing so, often provided dynamic leadership for other ethnic and racial groups.

²⁹See appropriate references in Alexander Karanikas, *Hellenes & Hellions—Modern Greek Characters in American Literature* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

³⁰Philip S. Foner, *The Industrial Workers of the World: 1905-1917*, *op. cit.*, pp. 262 and 492. Papanikolas, *op. cit.*, p. 287 notes that Nick Spanudhakis was one of the IWW pickets killed by Colorado state police outside Lafayette, Colorado in 1927. This was the first coal strike in Colorado since the Ludlow Massacre, and it suggests a fifteen-year continuity in Greek participation in radical working-class movements in the coal mining industry.

New England

The first employment for many Greek immigrants at the turn of the century was found in the mill towns of Massachusetts. The unskilled work demanded by textile manufacturing was well-suited to newcomers from unlettered agrarian backgrounds. By 1912, the Greek population of Lowell had swelled to approximately 10,000, making that city the third largest Greek center in the United States. This was at a time when unions were mounting massive efforts to rid the textile industry of child labor, to raise wages, and to improve working and living conditions that kept the average lifespan of the mill worker to under thirty years. While Greeks, like other immigrants, might be introduced to a specific mill as strikebreakers, they invariably joined the swelling tide of protest. Between 1900 and 1920 there was rarely a year in which Greek workers were not striking at one mill or another in Lowell. Each action was followed heatedly in the *kafenion* culture of the predominantly male society.³¹

A special problem was faced by Greeks in New England. In a region that had not yet recognized Italians and Hungarians as truly civilized people, Greeks were considered Orientals. Many early strike actions and other community protests were undertaken to achieve racial equality, and Greeks often served as the leadership for the smaller communities of Syrians, Armenians, Albanians, and even Turks who faced the same discrimination. These activities were a dynamic fusion of class and cultural solidarity.

Greeks were active participants in the momentous strike wave of 1912/13, during which the IWW won substantial gains for more than a quarter-million workers. The key strike was the 1912 battle at Lawrence, involving no less than twenty-four nationalities speaking twenty-two major languages. Greeks were on the strike committee, and Greek language posters were visible in the extensive photographic coverage of the tumultuous strike. Lawrence was known as the "strike that sang," and one of the strikers' songs refers to the Greeks as among the more militant nation-

³¹Lewis T. Karabatsos and Dale Nyder, "Greek Workers in the Mills of Lowell," in Mary H. Blewett (editor), *Surviving Hard Times: The Working People of Lowell* (Lowell, MA: Lowell Museum, 1982) pp. 63-78.

alities. Sung to the tune of "In The Good Old Summer Time," the song's first stanza is as follows:

In the good old picket line, in the good old picket line,
The workers are from every place, from nearly every clime,
The Greeks and Poles are out so strong, and the Germans
all the time,
But we want to see more Irish in the good old picket line.³²

Following the victory at Lawrence, strike euphoria swept the mill towns. In Lowell, the position of Greeks was pivotal. Some previous strikes had been lost, in part because the Greeks had not participated. As the 1913 action evolved, the Greeks remained ambivalent. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the IWW's Joan of Arc, asked to speak with the Greek workers. A meeting was arranged at a church, but, at the last minute, the priest balked at letting a woman speak from the altar. He finally acquiesced on the technical grounds that Flynn was not to appear as a female, but as a labor organizer. The twenty-three-year-old orator, addressed fifteen-hundred Greeks with the passion that was making her an American legend. Her words were translated into Greek as she spoke. Her account of that night tells all: "The intensity with which they listened was touching. It was their first experience of an American taking the trouble to explain everything to them and asking them for their support. They gave it with enthusiasm and became the backbone of the second strike, which was speedily won."³³

The arrival of Greek women occurred earlier in New England than in other regions, making for communities with a keen interest in public education and civic improvements. Despite what grew to be a considerable role in business and the professions, most Greeks remained in mass industries where they responded favorably to unionization until at least the 1940s. The New England area was characterized by high circulation of newspapers, frequent political gatherings, and intense community organization. Haverhill was one of only three cities north of the Mason-Dixon line

³²Joyce L. Kornbluh (editor), *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964), p. 180.

³³Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *The Rebel Girl: An Autobiography—My First Life, 1906–1926* (New York: International Publishers, 1955), p. 145.

to join in the founding of AHEPA in 1922. The strong Venizelist current in the community generally benefited the Democratic Party and became a tidal wave with the New Deal.

The 1930s showed that the passing years had not slackened community militancy. A case in point is Greek participation in a 1933 strike of shoemakers in Peabody. Although one of the struck firms was Greek-owned, a petition signed by 220 Greek merchants, proprietors, and civic leaders came down solidly behind the strikers and demanded that "an immediate stop be put to the most inhumane practice in the civilized world—strike-breaking."³⁴

Similar continuity in working-class attitudes is visible in the career of James Ellis (Boutsellis). In 1938, at the age of nineteen, Ellis went to work at Merrimac Manufacturing in Lowell, a factory employing 3,000 persons, including many Greeks. In an interview published in 1982 through the Lowell Museum, Ellis stated that Greeks had fought and struck at this particular plant for years.³⁵ Between 1938 and 1940 Ellis was prominent in three successful strikes at Merrima; in all three, the Wagner Act was invoked. After serving in the Second World War, Ellis was a CIO organizer in Lawrence, Lowell, and Haverhill from 1946–1947, and then participated in Southern organizing in the hectic years of 1948 and 1949. Upon his return to his home state, Ellis advanced in the union hierarchy and in 1955 became State Director of the CIO.

The fur workers union, led by social democrats and Communists, was further to the left than Ellis. In the late 1930s, the fur workers union organized New England leather workers, a group whose numbers and decentralization were such that unionization had always been problematic. The new Fur and Leather Workers Union brought some of the best wages and working conditions in the country to what had been a severely exploited sector of labor. In 1940, John Vafiades, the leading Greek figure in the union, personally worked in Lynn, using his Greek language skills to consolidate the new locals. Another indication of radical

³⁴Philip S. Foner, *The Fur and Leather Workers Union: A Story of Dramatic Struggles and Achievements* (Newark, NJ: Nordan Press, 1950), p. 540.

³⁵Karen Ahlin, "James Ellis: Mill Worker, Business Agent, CIO Organizer," in Blewett, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–148.

strength was that in 1943, the IWO had lodges in Peabody, Lowell, Boston, Worcester, Haverhill, and Springfield, as well as in neighboring New Haven and New Britain, Connecticut.

Still another example of the progressive continuity in Greek community life involves the careers of John and Constantine Poulos of Lynn. Their father, George Poulos, was vice-president of the major Venizelist organization in New England. John Poulos remarked in later years that he often observed his father politicking in coffeehouses. The elder Poulos, whose personal hero was Papanastasiou, the founder of the Farmer-Labor Party in Greece, preferred a one-on-one approach rather than public meetings. If an individual could not be directly recruited into the Venizelist organization, the fallback goal was to seek a principled united front against the royalist-led conservatives. John Poulos also noted the influence of individuals who had belonged to the Greek section of the Socialist Labor Party, and of Italian anarchists who had been fervent supporters of Sacco and Vanzetti.³⁶

While still in his twenties, John Poulos, himself a food worker, organized Food Workers Local 701-AFL. Acting as the union's business agent, Poulos led the fledgling union of a few thousand members into the emerging CIO. He was soon appointed CIO director of the North Shore. This brought him into contact with tens of thousands of workers in cities such as Lynn, Peabody, and Salem. Poulos was also a delegate to the 1938 founding convention of the CIO.³⁷

Poulos's trade union work would be pertinent in and of itself, but it is also significant that Poulos was a Marxist militant. Never attracted to the Communist Party, Poulos did belong to the Socialist Workers Party and the Workers Party, groups that advocated the ideas of Leon Trotsky. While his CIO work was strictly on a trade-union basis, he brought to it some of the most extreme radical sensibilities of the era, and found a ready response. In the 1940s, he worked with distinction in UAW unions, but in the 1950s he was permanently blacklisted. In the 1970s, Poulos became an activist scholar of Greek studies, and set up an archive

³⁶Unpublished interview with Eric Poulos (son of John Poulos), 1936.

³⁷John Poulos Biographical Files, Poulos Collection, Tamiment Library, New York University.

of radical and labor materials at the Tamiment Library of New York University.³⁸

Constantine Poulos was to have an even more visible public image. Although familiar with Marxist ideology because of his close ties with his older brother, Constantine remained a liberal. In 1940, he became the founder and editor of *The Hellenic Spectator*, an AHEPA monthly geared to the coverage of politics and the arts. While Poulos published radical as well as liberal writers, the liberal viewpoint was dominant, and most of the articles assumed a tone and language that appealed to the broad progressive spectrum of people attracted to AHEPA. Early issues dealt with the rights of the foreign born, and offered extensive coverage of Greek-authored poetry, fiction, and drama.

The outbreak of the Second World War brought dramatic changes to Poulos's life. He took a job as a journalist for the Overseas News Agency, and although he had never been to Greece, he was eventually assigned to report on the Greek resistance. He left Cairo in 1943, on a small boat, and made a perilous voyage that ended in his being the first correspondent to enter occupied Greece. He quickly made his way to the mountains, where he came into contact with EAM-ELAS. He soon concluded that EAM-ELAS was a genuinely democratic united front that was conducting a vigorous effort against the Nazis, while bringing social justice to the countryside.

Poulos poured out factual reports that were picked up by hundreds of American newspapers, including the *New York Post*. The articles were frequently translated into or paraphrased in the Greek press. Poulos also wrote interpretive essays which appeared in *The Nation*. At war's end, Poulos served as a liaison between the American officials and individuals who had been active in the

³⁸The dual purpose of this collection was to provide an archive for the personal papers of Constantine Poulos and to create an archive of Greek Trotskyism. In the course of fulfilling these objectives, John Poulos collected any and all material he could find on Greek radicalism. The resulting collection is housed in four large boxes and includes clippings from non-Trotskyist sources such as *Vema*. There is extensive material from both the US and Greece on EAM-ELAS, and a good collection of anti-junta materials (1967-1974). The collection is augmented by some forty books, mostly in English. The collection continues to expand and strives to be a general archive on Greek radicalism. Tamiment Library also houses the Oral History of the American Left project, which contains tapes of Greek radicals active in the US.

resistance. Behind the scenes he urged that EAM-ELAS be given at least an equal voice in the government being formed to rule post-war Greece. While freely acknowledging the Communist leadership of EAM-ELAS, Poulos felt that the resistance fighters were Greece's best democrats and that even the Communists would function honorably in a regime which guaranteed their political rights. This view ran counter to that which became American foreign policy, and Poulos was soon expelled from Greece under the vague charge that he was "pro-Communist."

Poulos soon found that he was now on a gray list of undesirables, and assignments as a journalist became so scarce that he was forced to return to the US. His efforts to publish a book on Greece proved unsuccessful, and evidence found recently shows that the Department of State undertook an active role in discouraging publishers from accepting his book proposal.³⁹ Eventually, he bought a weekly newspaper in Jamestown, NY, where he was to win a Pulitzer Prize for community journalism; but his writing would not receive national exposure again until the 1960s, when he was called upon by *The Nation* to write about the Greek junta. In 1965, Poulos was able to get an editorial post at *Holiday* magazine.

The silencing of the Poulos brothers reflected a phenomenon occurring throughout the Greek community in the post-war years. Individuals firmly grounded in the traditional republican movement and active in American groups such as the CIO were not allowed to actively oppose US policy in Greece. Perhaps the most vivid example of this emerged from within the State Department itself. During the war years, leading Greek scholars were hired to analyze events in Greece and Greek American reaction to these events. Among those called was Professor L. S. Stavrianos of Northwestern University. As he and his colleagues examined the pertinent data, they came to the same general conclusions that Constantine Poulos had. Advocacy of their scholarly conclusions, the very job they had been hired to perform, led to massive dismissals and resignations when the war ended.

Upon leaving the State Department, Professor Stavrianos

³⁹Department of State memorandum on the meeting with a Henry Holt and Company editor, published in *The Nation*, January 24, 1987, p. 70. Memo discovered by Elias Vlantou.

went to work on a book which he eventually entitled, *Greece: American Dilemma and Opportunity*. His manuscript was turned down by every commercial and university press he contacted until it came to the attention of Regnery. Ironically, Regnery was a right-wing publishing house; but its isolationist view of foreign policy left it open to a critique of the Truman Doctrine. The book was published in 1952 and has since been recognized as a classic of the period.

The reward for such intellectual candor on Professor Stavrianos's part was redbaiting and harassment. The president of Northwestern University personally attempted to have him dismissed, and his efforts were thwarted only by a strong Illinois tenure law. Until a change of university presidents took place, Professor Stavrianos did not receive either a raise or a promotion. Greek academics offered scant public support, and nearly two decades passed before Professor Stavrianos was semi-officially rehabilitated and honored at the 1971 convention of the Modern Greek Studies Association.

The fate of both Stavrianos and Poulos is significant in that membership in the Communist Party was never an issue. Their major offense was to disagree with American policy in Greece. But the real loser in this ideological battle was Greek America, which became temporarily severed from its progressive traditions and was deprived of opposing opinions. The pervasive intimidation of dissenters in the 1950s had a gripping effect on Greek American intellectual and political life that did not slacken until the Colonels' coup of 1967.

Few of the established Greek American institutions opposed the dictatorship, and many Greek Americans were active or tacit supporters of the military junta, but oppositions to the Colonels emerged spontaneously in most major Greek communities. Young people influenced by the New Left movement of the 1960s and reactivated veterans of the EAM-ELAS era formed the basis of the coalition that opposed the dictatorship. This small but vigorous movement had a Massachusetts component that was led by intellectuals in the Boston area, and it spread its views through a radio program, publications, and public meetings.

The progressive impulse in the Greek American community of Massachusetts had remained far from dormant. Having had

embraced the New Deal, the community found the New Frontier of John F. Kennedy most congenial. In 1974, the very year the junta was overthrown, Greek-American Michael Dukakis was elected governor of Massachusetts on a program of liberal reform. That same year, Paul Tsongas, a future Massachusetts senator, was sent to Congress from the Lowell district, and Nicholas Mavroulis consolidated a base in Peabody that would send him to Congress in 1970. Tsongas and Mavroulis were firmly identified with the most liberal segment of the Democratic Party, and the more moderate Dukakis was thrice-elected governor of, arguably, the most liberal state in the Union. The immigrants of the early 1900s would have been astounded at such a Greek presence in state and national politics, but there was a thread of continuity between them and the liberals of the 1970s and 1980s.

The East and Industrial Midwest

New York was the port of entry for the majority of Greeks. Many patterns developed in New York City would be reproduced in other metropolitan areas, but New York was unique as the cultural capital for the Greek language in the US. The city produced the two major national Greek-language dailies; the first Greek-language records were produced in New York, as was the first Greek-language motion picture. The city also acted as a gateway for Greek artists making tours of North America.

In addition to the lively cultural scene, New York quickly bred two often antagonistic trends: a dynamic commercial community and the most militant Greek trade unionists. Greek entrepreneurs often began their businesses by offering ethnic wares and services, or by acting as American agents of international shipping concerns. The favored form of business was the "hands-on" enterprise, but there were also larger concerns, such as Greek participation in the mass exhibition of motion pictures. As Greeks grew increasingly comfortable with American business practices, they became a force in real estate development and began to function in the corporate world. By the 1980s, it was not unusual to find a Greek heading a major international or local corporation: General Dynamics, Mobil Oil, and the Long Island Lighting Company are only three examples.

The profits of pioneering Greek firms usually stemmed from the exploitation of Greek workers. Given the awful working conditions generally prevalent before the New Deal, this made for acrimonious struggles between Greek labor and Greek capitalists. The prosperity which characterizes the post-1960s community has dimmed the memory of how much of that affluence came about.

The first wave of immigrant Greek males paid a particularly dear price for entry into the American system. Their first jobs were likely to be as bootblacks, fruit vendors, candymakers, floral assistants, street peddlars, waiters, or common laborers. Most were employed in what was called the *padrone* system. First developed by Italians, this system involved labor being exchanged for food, lodging, a small salary, and repayment of a loan. The loan was usually the money advanced for passage to America, or money sent to relatives in Greece. The *padrones* confiscated all tips, prohibited education, and enforced dawn-to-dusk working hours. Such practices made loan repayments all but impossible and kept the worker in perpetual debt—a modern form of indentured servitude. Living conditions for the young men, frequently youths under the age of seventeen, were criminal. Early death and permanently impaired health were common. Exact details on how the system exploited Greeks were revealed when Greek physicians in Chicago worked with American reformers to expose the system.⁴⁰ For the Greek worker, however, the usual escape from this economic bondage was neither social legislation nor outside intervention, but, quite simply, running away.

Many commentators on the plight of Greek workers in this early period have left the impression that Greeks did not fight back; more specifically, a general consensus has been advanced that Greeks were never attracted to radical ideology. Even Theodore Saloutos, the single most authoritative historian of Greek America, insists, "Marxism made no appreciable progress among Greek Americans. The rank and file were bitterly opposed to it and could be counted upon to fight it with all the power at their command."⁴¹ With the exception of Charles Moskos, nearly all subsequent historians of Greek America have repeated this judg-

⁴⁰Bobbi Malafouris, ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ: 1528-1948, pp. 117-138. Translation of this chapter available in the John Poulos Collection. (Translation of title: *Greeks of America*.)

⁴¹Saloutos, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

ment uncritically. The reality is that Greeks were neither particularly prone to radicalism nor particularly antipathetic to it. Their pattern of response was very similar to that of nearly all other ethnic groups.

Greeks began to own restaurants quite early in the immigration cycle, but it has always been true that more Greeks worked in Greek establishments, hotels, and deluxe restaurants than owned them. From the teens onward, these food workers constantly fought to advance themselves economically. The extent of Greek participation in strikes and the radical edge of that participation can be seen in two New York events during the Depression: the police murder of Steve Katovis in 1930, and the general strike of hotel workers in 1934.

The biography of Steve Katovis offers rare insight into the life of a rank-and-file Greek Communist. Born in 1890 in Thessaly, Katovis went to sea at age sixteen. He arrived in New York in 1913, where he became an avid reader of anarchist and IWW literature. He participated in the maritime strike of 1920, before shipping for California where he worked as a taxi driver and laborer. He had joined the Communist Party by the time he returned to New York in 1927. A writer for *Empros* and a minor official in the Party, he went to Jersey City every fifteen days and tried, with his older brother, to organize restaurant workers. Katovis was also a member of an informal group of six Greeks who went to night school to become expert technicians. Their goal was to migrate to the USSR, once they were fully trained, "to build socialism." To support himself while going to school, Katovis was a food handler in the Bronx. On January 16, 1930, hearing that strikers at a nearby market were in trouble, Katovis rushed to help. He arrived in time to be caught in police gunfire. Eight days later he died of his wounds.

Katovis's comrades turned his martyrdom into a political event. More than 20,000 workers of all ethnic backgrounds viewed his corpse at the Workers Center on Union Square, and some 50,000 workers demonstrated in his name on January 28. His funeral entourage was led by his best friend, George Mastopelos, and his brother, Paul Katovis, read the eulogy. Shortly after his burial, thousands of copies of a 31-page biography of Steve Katovis

(written in English by A. B. Magill and Joseph North) circulated among New York workers.⁴²

Steve Katovis was not a solitary figure in the Greek community. Greeks had been prominent in a New York cafeteria workers strike in 1929, which ended with a considerable number joining the Communist Party. Greeks were again visible when hotel workers closed virtually every New York deluxe hotel in 1934. At the head of the strike was B. J. Field and Aristodimos Kaldis. Field, who was fluent in French, organized the chefs; Kaldis, born in Asia Minor, was the leader of the Greek waiters.

The fact that Aristodimos Kaldis was a strike leader is unknown to most Greek Americans, who correctly identify him as an internationally renowned painter. His second career obscured his past when, in the 1960s, Kaldis was featured in major exhibitions. Even earlier, Kaldis had attracted attention with twelve lectures at Carnegie Hall entitled, "The Key to Modern Art." These were based on his personal contacts with Matisse, Giacometti, Picasso, de Chirico, Leger, and, most importantly for him, Diego Rivera.

This late flowering of artistic talent hardly seemed what destiny had in store for the seventeen-year-old Kaldis who arrived in Boston in 1906. Soon active as a local journalist and labor agitator, Kaldis achieved local notoriety for his work on behalf of Greek rubber workers. Through the years, he continued to earn a living as journalist while performing political services as needed. He was drawn into the Communist movement but broke with it in the 1920s, thereafter supporting the positions of Leon Trotsky. In 1930, now living in New York, Kaldis became editor of *The Communist*, a monthly Greek-language newspaper. His first editorial asked Greek workers to break with Stalin and fulfill the original aims of the Bolshevik Revolution.⁴³

The strikers of 1934 were motivated by bread-and-butter needs, not ideology, but they were not naive. Field and Kaldis were both known Trotskyists, and they and other radical orators of various persuasions spoke to rallies which brought together

⁴²A. B. Magil and Joseph North, *Steve Katovis: Life and Death of a Worker* (New York: International Publishers, 1930), pamphlet.

⁴³Kaldis File, Poulos Collection, Tamiment Library, New York University. Also see George Valamvanos, "A Tribute to Kaldis," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Summer, 1979, pp. 89-93.

some 2,000 to 10,000 persons in what became the biggest strike action of its kind to date.⁴⁴ The chefs were the key to the strike's success, because they were not easily replaced; and the Greek social halls became the major centers of the strike's organization. The walkout was a front-page story for days, and ended with substantial gains for the workers. Shortly after the strike ended, Field and Kaldis quarreled, and the union they had led affiliated with the AFL. The strike, in fact, turned out to be Kaldis's last political hurrah. He had met his future wife, Laurie Eglington, who was the editor of the influential *Art News*, and he began to paint in earnest. Three years later he befriended Diego Rivera, who was then working on his Rockefeller Center mural. Kaldis never disavowed his politics, but never again was he to be associated with a political party.

Kaldis was not alone among Greek artists and intellectuals who became intrigued with radical ideas in the 1930s. Theodore Stamos, one of America's most celebrated abstract expressionist painters, was born of Greek parents in New York City in 1922. At age ten, he received a scholarship to the American Artists School, the original John Reed Club and an agency of the Communist Party. He has recounted that in the 1930s he participated in May Day parades and in Communist picketing. Although he became disillusioned with the Communist Party after the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939, Stamos continued to think of himself as a democratic socialist.⁴⁵ Nicholas Calas, a world-famous art writer and lecturer, arrived in New York in the late 1930s and attempted to create a magazine that would fuse surrealism and Trotskyism. The project failed, but Calas continued to regard himself as an unaffiliated leftist and remained quite friendly with the most famous of all Greek Trotskyists, Michael Raptis (also known as Pabio). Kimon Friar, the best known translator of Greek poetry into English, was also attracted to the left in the 1930s, being particularly passionate on the subject of Spain while journalist Paul Denis headed a "Greeks for Norman Thomas" committee. These connections between the left and Greek intellectuals and artists were quite typical of the times, and are noteworthy

⁴⁴*Ibid.*

⁴⁵Marina Kasdaglis and Peter Pappas, "A Discussion with Theodore Stamos," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, Vol. IX, No. 4, Winter, 1982, pp. 45-52.

only because so many Greek American commentaries have failed to point out that such connections existed.

While exact figures are always difficult to confirm, there appear to have been five hundred Greek members of the Communist Party in the 1920s. This was about the same number as other Southern European ethnic groups, but considerably smaller than the number of Jews or Eastern Europeans. The Greek Communists were concentrated in major industrial cities east of the Mississippi River. The strongest unit was the Spartakos group of New York City, which had formed in a restaurant by the same name. Spartakos was especially important in maintaining the Greek-language Communist press.

The major working-class organization controlled by the Greek Communists was the Greek local of the fur workers union. Although the fur industry was dominated by its Jewish owners, there were three hundred Greek furriers employing 1,500 Greek workers by the 1920s. During the same period, a power struggle within the Fur Workers Union ended, and a coalition led by a Communist, Ben Gold, emerged as the dominant force within the union. This new dynamic leadership was able to secure significant gains for its members, but further gains were threatened by the lack of Greek participation. Not scabs in the technical sense because they had never been approached to join the union, Greeks in Greek shops could take up the slack during any strike and severely handicap the union.

Ben Gold made it a union priority to organize the Greeks. His first move was to confer with Greek Communists and set up meetings with Greek workers where his speeches could be translated, much as Elizabeth Gurley Flynn's speech had been translated in Lowell in 1913. By August, 1925, five hundred Greeks were attending special meetings where they learned that their wages and conditions of work were considerably lower than elsewhere in the industry. Initiation fees were cut by a third to encourage membership, and the emerging Greek leadership felt confident enough to call a strike for October 27. The response was sensational. Every Greek fur shop was closed. Although there was some intimidation by police and hoodlums, the workers triumphed in what turned out to be a ten-day strike. When it was over, they shared the industry standard: a forty-four-hour week,

ten legal holidays, time-an-a-half for overtime, and a minimum wage.⁴⁶

A year later, a strike involving the entire union was called. Unlike in 1912 and 1920, when Greeks had worked during strikes, the Greeks in 1926 proved to be stalwart strikers. Huge rallies and vigorous picketing were the union's major tactics. The owners replied by hiring thugs to beat strikers, a practice that would continue for another fifteen years wherever there was labor unrest. The hirelings of the furriers were among the most vicious in New York, including the infamous Louis Lepke, who was later associated with Murder Inc. In 1926, as in subsequent strikes, the fur workers had to slug it out, and sometimes shoot it out, with the thugs. The New York papers often carried photos of workers or mobsters lying bloodied in the streets. In some areas of the garment industry, the hoodlums prevailed; in others, the union hired its own thugs to fight company thugs. Among the fur workers, the union was able to defeat the mob with its own muscle, and Greeks developed a reputation as being among the boldest fighters. A fictional account of these events can be found in *Quitting Time*, a novel by Leonard Kriegel.

If struggling with police, scabs, and thugs were not difficult enough, the Greeks also had to contend with ethnic criticism from some fellow Greeks. The conservative press was shamelessly antisemitic, and derided workers for thinking they had more in common with Jewish coworkers than with Greek bosses. Workers were also berated for belonging to a union which gave full rights to blacks. Much was made of the fact that there were hundreds of Greek women in the shops who should not have to associate with Jews and blacks. Such verbal assaults had little effect on the fur workers, most of whom came from the Kastoria region of Greece, and who remained loyal to their union and to all other fur workers. The Greek local became so strong over the course of time that it was able to support organizing efforts in other states. The militancy of the union can be seen in the statistics from Newark, NJ, where Tom Galanos, a Greek, was the major leader for all the ethnic groups. During the period 1936-1939, there were no less than fifty-six strikes and 121 weeks of shut-downs.

⁴⁶Philip S. Foner, *The Fur and Leather Workers Union*, op. cit., pp. 160-162.

The Communist leadership of so many Greeks over the decades might be perplexing from the perspective of the post-1960s Greek Americans. It is essential to note that the Communist Party, popular or not, has always been legal in the United States, and in the 1930s the Communists were an active and legitimate force in American labor. They paraded down Fifth Avenue on May Day and held huge rallies in Madison Square Garden. Groups such as the fur workers were part of a radical tide that would not be spent until the advent of the Cold War. Even then, the fur workers were somewhat unique. Unlike most Communist-led unions, the fur workers were always openly leftists: Ben Gold had never made a secret of his membership in the Communist Party. Although the executive board of the union was under the domination of his clique, socialists and liberals had served for decades with no complaint of unfair treatment. When other Communist-influenced unions were booted out of the CIO after the war, accommodations were made for the fur workers to remain, primarily because of the union's long record of internal democracy and militancy.

The Greek Communists also tried to create broad coalitions within the community. The Greek Workers Federation was a popular front effort which sought to translate anti-Metaxas sentiment into an anti-monarchist, anti-fascist, and anti-imperialistic direction. The group published a newspaper, *Protoporos* (*Pioneer*) from March 1935 to June 1937. Greeks fighting for the Spanish Republic were among the non-labor topics frequently covered. The movement renamed itself the Greek American Union for Democracy in 1937, and this and other initiatives laid the cooperative groundwork for the vibrant radical-liberal alliance of the 1940s. At that time all sectors of the community became involved in the effort to defeat fascism and to support the Greek resistance. What might be thought of as the *Vema-Keryx* coalition became dominant in New York and other major cities. Rallies, war-bond drives, social events, and a vigorous publishing program were all part of a campaign aimed at Greeks, non-Greeks, and the American government. The success of the effort is documented in reports compiled by the OSS.⁴⁷

⁴⁷Elias Vlantou (compiler), "Documents: The O.S.S. and the Greek-Americans," *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, Vol. IX, Nos. 1-4, 1982, Yavis, *op. cit.*,

Greek labor showed its power by creating the Greek American Labor Committee. Twenty-two AFL and CIO locals with a membership of over 100,000 workers were represented, and there were observers from twelve other unions. The committee acted as an effective pressure group within the union hierarchy and in the Democratic Party. It fought for aid for the Greek resistance and Greek war relief. At the end of the war, the Committee appeared at hearings in Washington, DC in an unsuccessful bid to alter American policy in Greece. Greek radicals were also involved in unions that were not active in the Greek American Labor Committee. Among these were the United Electrical Workers, the United Mine Workers and Smelters Union, the United Steel Workers, and the National Maritime Union.

Yet another Communist-led organization that played a significant role in Greek American life during the 1940s was the Greek Maritime Union, which until 1941 had been known as the Greek Seaman's Union. The membership of six hundred was composed totally of Greek nationals; after Greece's occupation, union headquarters were divided between London and New York. The New York chapter had close ties to the Spartakos group, the fur workers, and its American counterpart, the National Maritime Union. Its perspective in the 1940s was twofold. As fervent anti-fascists, the seamen volunteered to man ships that carried armaments from America to Murmansk, the most dangerous of all the Atlantic runs. Their heroism was so extraordinary that the union won commendations not only from Stalin, but also from Winston Churchill and Franklin D. Roosevelt. While waging this war effort, the union also fought Greek shipowners in a successful effort to upgrade conditions and wages of Greek nationals to meet American standards. During the war years, the New York local published its own newsletters and was involved in all the social activities of the Greek American left. Not a few marriages were one by-product.

As civil war enveloped Greece, the status achieved by the Greek Maritime Union was turned upside down. The heroes of the Second World War became instant villains. Membership in the union was considered treasonous by the Greek state, and its

and O.S.S. files in the John Poulos Collection, Tamiment Library, New York University.

allies shipped back Greek nationals who were union members to face certain imprisonment. The union's activities were terminated in New York and its leadership was expelled under the McCarran-Walter Act. In spite of this situation, the union was to survive and eventually prospered. A number of individuals active in New York during the war years gravitated to leadership roles in the Greek Communist Party, the most notable among them being Tony Ambatielos, who became a member of the Greek parliament during the post-junta years.

The anti-Communist hysteria which struck the Greek Maritime Union took a heavy toll on naturalized Greek Americans as well. Scores were stripped of their citizenship and deported, and hundreds more underwent judicial hearings throughout the 1950s. Among the most prominent of the deported Greeks was John Valfiades, the leader of the Greek fur workers. But the very first to go was Gus Polites, a retired Detroit restaurant worker. Accounts of the Polites case and others in Detroit reveal that most of the men were already in their sixties and had been politically inactive for years, but as young men they had been Communists who organized restaurant and auto workers. Three of the men threatened with deportation, Leo Syrakis, Leftherios G. Zgournouis, and George S. Zembeles, had been residents of Detroit for nearly thirty years. Frequent mention was made of their association with a Greek workers club located in Detroit's Greektown. They were never accused of any subversive acts, and their only police records had to do with arrests for picketing. Their technical offense was that they had not admitted to membership in the Communist Party at the time they became naturalized. Given the advanced age of the men and their records in organized labor, the real aim of the anti-Communist campaign appears to have been to intimidate all of the foreign-born, a replication of the Palmer Raids which took place at the conclusion of the First World War.

American-born radicals were also pressured. Although they could not be deported, many were forced to switch careers, particularly if they were involved in education, labor, or communications. The exact number of individuals harassed is not known, but a considerable number of Greeks who had participated in various dissident movements were affected. Dean Alfange, for

example, had been a 1942 candidate of the American Labor Party for Governor of New York, and Alexander Karanikas was a Congressional candidate for the Progressive Party of New Hampshire in 1949. Many such persons were rendered politically inactive by the pressures of the 1950s.

Greek Americans were more vulnerable to McCarthyism than most ethnic Greeks. The majority of the community had supported the Communist-led EAM-ELAS, but the American government had determined that EAM-ELAS would have as small a post-war role as possible. The persecution of resistance fighters by royalists who now accepted Nazi collaborators as allies was bewildering. The advent of full civil war was unfathomable. The issues did not seem nearly so clearcut as the conventional press asserted, but discussions of alternatives, proposals for compromise, and the formation of pressure groups was rendered impossible by the specter of McCarthyism. Any sentiment that could be interpreted as pro-Communist put a foreign-born Greek American in danger of deportation. For the native-born, there was the prospect of the blacklist. Support for American policy which might have developed naturally was brutally commandeered.

As a consequence of this process, Greek America developed a kind of amnesia. It forgot its own turbulent history in America. Illusions grew: that the transition from impoverished immigrant to affluent American had been relatively brief and painless, that America had always loved its Greeks. Events in the old country were stripped of their national aspects and understood only as part of the global struggle between the US and the USSR. This largely inaccurate and incomplete view went unchallenged until the Greek dictatorship of 1967–1974 revived all the old questions—and memories.

The South

The first Greeks to set foot on what became the United States did so in the South. The rosters of Spanish expeditions, such as the one led by the conquistador Coronado, are filled with names followed by the designation "greco" or "griego." Greeks also were active in the pirate fleets of the Caribbean. One of the first

Greeks in Texas, for example, was a "Captain" Nicholas who had sailed with the famous Jean Lafitte from Savannah, Georgia aboard the pirate ship *Jupiter*. The first Greeks to settle in Chicago arrived in the 1840s after starting their voyage in New Orleans and traveling up the Mississippi River. New Orleans also gave birth to the first Greek Orthodox Church (1864) in the New World.

Despite these early adventurers, immigration by Greeks in the South, as in the North, did not become massive until 1900. No Southern center ever grew as large as those in Chicago, New York, or Lowell, but almost every major city had an identifiable cluster of Greek families. The history of these immigrants is poorly documented, but what records have surfaced indicate they made a rapid entry into small businesses, usually eating places, shoeshine parlors, confectionery shops, and food stalls. A handful enjoyed early prosperity, but the majority did not become financially secure until the Second World War.

Casting a dark cloud over the business success stories reported in local newspapers and ethnic magazines was the *padrone* system. The Southern manifestation of this form of ethnic self-exploitation was widespread and appears to have lingered on after falling into disrepute in other parts of the nation. Individuals caught up in the system were more easily controlled in smaller cities with conservative traditions than in the anonymous urban centers that teemed with reform and revolutionary sentiments. Many Southern cities were to draw the majority of their Greek population from a very specific region of the old country, intensifying their isolation. The *padrone* often might be a relative or a person to whom the family in Greece was deeply indebted. And the South lacked a vigorous trade union movement and reformers such as the Hull House progressives who so greatly aided Chicago's Greeks—a situation that worked to the advantage of the *padrones*. It is also rarely noted that the five hundred Greeks who were brought to New Smyrna in 1767 came as indentured laborers to a Scottish entrepreneur.

A most unfortunate consequence of the spotty history of the Greeks in the South is the resultant vagueness about the founding of AHEPA at a 1922 meeting in Atlanta, GA. While it is well known that Southern racists were extremely hostile to Greeks, it

is not clear how much of this feeling was specifically aimed at Greeks or how much was a spillover of the anti-foreign sentiment so prevalent at the time. One would like to know who the allies of the Greeks were. Other ethnic communities? Jews? White Southern liberals? Business associates? What was the relationship between the Greek communities and the most exploited of all—the Southern blacks?

The kinds of harassment Greeks faced ranged from physical assaults and racial segregation to all manner of petty annoyances. A restauranteer from Charlotte, North Carolina is on record about Ku Klux Klan tactics of the 1920s. She states that Ku Klux Klan members liked to go into Greek restaurants and order huge meals. When it came time to pay, they would insist they had given the cashier a ten-dollar bill when, in actuality, they had only handed over five dollars. To avoid confrontations, the restaurant owner usually acquiesced to what amounted to a free meal.⁴⁸ Such incidents raise the question as to what happened when restaurant owners resisted intimidation. It is not known to what extent there were threats of or actual whippings, cross burnings, or lynchings—all standard Ku Klux Klan behavior of the time.

Southern history underscores that the Americanization policy adopted by AHEPA was, in part, a self-defensive measure. Greeks found it necessary to assure their new compatriots that they were "modern," and that their allegiance was not to Greece, but to the United States. Learning English quickly and adopting American customs were self-evident means to that end. The frequent Americanization of Greek names during this era served a similar purpose.

Thoroughly documented local histories that might address such issues by providing details do not exist. What do exist are accounts by merchants who happened to become the most successful Greeks in town, and stories concerning the emergence of the local parishes and, particularly, the men who paid for the first bell or cornerstone. Nearly totally absent are accounts of the lives of the ordinary people who made up the parish populations, the political and social issues they argued about, and the many individuals who were not involved in the formal community at all.

⁴⁸Joseph A. Alvarez, "Charlotte, NC: An Old Greek Community in the New South," *Greek Accent*, November, 1982, pp. 12-15.

The point to be made is not that the merchants and church founders are unimportant, but that they should not be allowed to substitute for a genuine history of the entire community.

Topics which rarely are hinted at include what percentage of Greeks were employed in Southern textile mills, or how many had contacts with the militant seaman's unions which occasionally showed strength in various Southern ports. The Greeks who left America are yet another component of history usually ignored. US statistics show that Greeks had one of the highest return rates to the old country of any ethnic group—at least thirty percent. Unless we are to believe the returnees had struck it rich, they obviously soured on America. What role did the *padrone* system, labor agents, and racism play in this alienation?

A glimpse of what hidden riches a full history of the Greeks in America might reveal is found in the saga of the Greeks who settled in Tarpon Springs, Florida.⁴⁹ Tarpon Springs is unique because it stands alone as a community dependent on the sponge industry, and that industry is unique because, prior to the arrival of the Greeks, it was technologically backward. By the late 1880s, Greek divers in the Dodecanese islands, along with other European spongers, were using pressurized diving suits to harvest sponges. American spongers continued to use hooks attached to long poles, which greatly limited the area that could be worked. In 1905, John Cocoris, a Greek immigrant who had first visited Tarpon in the late 1890s, arranged for six divers from Aegina to use their diving gear on a Tarpon boat. The entire craft was filled in a few hours and the exhilarated divers announced that there were enough sponges in the Gulf of Mexico to supply the whole world.

Within a year, there were fifty Greek sponge boats using Tarpon Springs as their home port. Native Floridians, mainly sailing out of Key West, were determined to retain the hooking method, and pressed their views by fighting with the Greeks on land and sea. The confrontations ranged from fistfights to shoot-outs and boat-burnings. The Greeks gave back better than they got, quickly establishing themselves as a community that would not be intimidated. Assaults by the Ku Klux Klan and, sometimes, by local police sympathetic to non-Greeks also had to be countered.

⁴⁹Georgakas, "Tarpon Springs," *op. cit.*, and Karanikas, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-225.

One reason that the Greeks eventually prevailed and developed what became a defacto monopoly in the sponge industry was that diving with suits was far more perilous than hooking. If a diver surfaced too rapidly, or stayed under water too long, he might become paralyzed or even die. Diving cut short a man's lifespan, and all divers eventually suffered from such a pronounced disorientation affecting their sense of balance that they swayed when walking and dancing. An American commission in the 1940s concluded that there was no work more hazardous in America than sponge-diving. Like their Greek compatriots in textiles and mining, the sponge divers performed work most native-born Americans rejected as too dangerous.

Divers went into the gulf in 43-foot boats designed like those used in Greece for a millenium. The boats traveled as a fleet, staying at sea for months at a time. A mother schooner coordinated the positions of the diving boats and acted as a floating warehouse. When the schooner filled with sponges, a process which took from three to four weeks, it returned to Tarpon to unload them and take on mail and fresh food for the men at sea. Later, when motors became more efficient, the time divers had to spend in the gulf was significantly reduced.

The organization needed to coordinate a fleet was replicated within each individual craft. The boats were run as modified cooperatives; all payment came from profits which were divided on a share basis. A craft might, for example, have sixteen shares. Each diver received three shares. The engineer, captain, and owner received two shares; the cook, lifeline handler, and deckhands were given one share. However, a captain who doubled as a diver would receive five shares, and if he also owned the craft, seven shares. Because so much time was spent together, and because the work was so dangerous; the crew developed a profound comradeship that was reinforced by shared family, village, and island ties.

The democratic ethos which characterized the intercommunal relations of Greek fisherfolk was also evident when dealing with outsiders. Although white Floridians did not allow blacks on sponge boats, Greeks employed them as needed, and under the very same terms which applied to Greeks. This infuriated the Ku Klux Klan, but the Greeks would not budge from their co-

operative system to indulge in racism. Blacks proved to be appreciative workers. Many of them learned Greek, and some were such able divers, crew members, and savers that they eventually bought their own boats. The Greeks of Tarpon also refused to practice racially segregated seating on public transport. Rather than having buses, the transportation system involved a fleet of jitneys. Riders sat wherever they wanted in the small vehicles. In the Tarpon Springs Museum today, the all-black sponge crews and the occasional black face in the midst of a Greek crew attest to this unusual moment in American race relations.

The close-knit Tarpon community was not without its frictions, however. The Tarpon Springs Sponge Exchange was across from the docks, and there was frequent acrimony between the fisherfolk and the sponge traders. The men who had spent so much time at sea and taken so many chances with their health felt that the traders received too large a share of the ultimate profits. Various efforts were undertaken to set up sponge trading cooperatives that would give the fisherfolk enhanced profits. These struggles were fictionalized by Don Tracy in *Bazzaris* (1965), a novel in which two sides become involved in violent class warfare that includes murder.

A richer source of Tarpon lore than Tracy's fiction is *Strangers at Ithaca* (1962), a memoir of Tarpon written by George T. Frantzis. The author, who was also a founder of the local historical museum, details how Greek divers won out over the hook spongers, and he deals with the more unsavory characters and aspects of the Tarpon port—the moonshiners who picked up whiskey coming from Cuba or Nassau during Prohibition, and the systematic smuggling of illegal aliens into the United States.

Almost all the Greek inhabitants of Tarpon Springs came from the Dodecanese islands. The major riverfront street in the Florida community is called Dodecanese Boulevard, and on many islands in the Aegean there are corresponding routes to the sea called the Tarpon Road. Contact between the Dodecanese and Tarpon Springs was, and is, more common than contact with either New York or Athens.

Funds generated by the ever-expanding sponge trade facilitated an early arrival of Greek women. They had the usual stabilizing effect on community life, and the subsequent birth of children

generated an enormous interest in public education. Because men were at sea for long periods, women enjoyed an unusual status in the community. They took over the management of families, including finances; boys as well as girls were under maternal care for most of the year. Many women also came to own shares in boats and in associated enterprises as husbands, fathers, uncles, and sons included women as direct heirs in their estates.

Sponge prices moved upward in the 1910s and 1920s, and even during the Great Depression. In 1936, for example, sponge sales finally hit the million-dollar mark. While the rest of the country was in economic crisis, only two-hundred-fifty out of a Greek population of 4,000 in Tarpon Springs were unemployed. The community was so well organized and financed that the few unemployed and others in need of social assistance were helped by community agencies rather than by government.

The 1930s also brought the first positive recognition from prominent non-Greeks. When ex-President Calvin Coolidge visited Florida in 1930, he proclaimed Tarpon Springs to be the most interesting stop on his visit. Two years later, Hollywood made *The Diver*, the first of five films about Greek divers, on location in Tarpon. Filmmakers would also use the city as background for non-Greek films such as *The Wake of the Red Witch* (1940), which starred John Wayne. The only Greek to make a film in Tarpon was Elia Kazan, who directed *Sixteen Fathoms Deep* (1948). Kazan is also the only Greek author to write a novel about Tarpon Springs. His *Acts of Love* (1978) includes a sponge boat captain as a major character.

The Greeks of Tarpon Springs thought their good luck was permanent, but three post-war events brought sudden and permanent changes in their lives. The first of these developments was the renaissance of sponging in Europe, where wages and other costs had hit rock-bottom. More devastating was the "red tide," a plague of sea fungus which destroyed sponge beds in 1947. Although there had been previous episodes of red tide, none had been so devastating. The third blow came when du Pont marketed the first synthetic sponges late in the decade. Financial collapse was swift and, despite periodic hopes for a revival, permanent. There had been more than two hundred boats and a thousand seamen in the Tarpon Springs of the 1930s. By the 1970s, the number of

boats in its fleet could be counted on one hand, and not a single fisherman could be guaranteed a livelihood.

Cushioned by nearly four decades of economic growth, the Tarpon Greeks were able to survive the death of the sponge industry. The American-born were already becoming part of various professions, the civil service, and business. And the films of the 1930s brought tourism to Tarpon Springs: it ultimately became the city's major industry. The rituals of Epiphany in Tarpon Springs—an annual blessing of the fleet and the diving into one of the bayous for a jeweled crucifix—became a major event for non-Greeks as well, attracting tens of thousands of visitors. While the ceremony retained its spiritual importance for the community, it also served as an important tourist attraction for an annual festival.

Presently, the Tarpon Greeks comprise about a third of the city's population of 18,000. They have retained a remarkable cultural continuity, and wield enormous influence in the city government. Greek as well as American holidays are observed, and an excellent bilingual Greek program is considered a community treasure. Dance groups and other community organizations preserve with great attention to authenticity the dances and costumes of the islands. Perhaps more than any other Greek community in the United States, Tarponians feel an intense connection with the pre-1940 generation. Every time one of its elders dies, the community feels it has lost a hero. A sentiment heard over and over again when the pioneering generation is spoken of is, "Those men seem like giants to us."

Conclusion

The richness of the Tarpon Springs material indicates how much might lie hidden in the stories of other Greek communities. Whole regions and entire classes have been neglected, and even major cities have only been partially researched. While every census since 1960 has shown Greek Americans to have the second highest economic level of any ethnic group, and the highest education level, the process by which this affluence arose from the arduous early decades remains poorly understood.

What has begun to emerge from the better local histories is that many common assumptions about the Greeks in America are misleading or untrue. The period of low wages, poor public acceptance, and marginal economic viability was decades-long, lasting until the 1940s for most families in most communities. Thought of as extremely individualistic, Greeks, in fact, are among the best-organized ethnic groups in the United States in every area of interest: commerce, labor, religion, community, and native region. Similarly, the supposedly parochial Greeks have shown considerable cultural sophistication in working positively with a wide range of racial groups, ethnic groups, and native-born Americans. Justly famed for dominance within the restaurant industry, Greeks have risen to visible positions of power in virtually every area of the American economy. The community of the 1980s is proud of its moderate and patriotic image, but its present comfortable position was built upon a tradition of reforming zeal that was unaccepting of America's shortcomings, at home or abroad.

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Georgakas on Greek Americans: A Response

by CHARLES C. MOSKOS

The editors of *The GreekAmerican* are to be congratulated for raising the level of discourse in the Greek American media. Dan Georgakas's historical series on "Greek Americans: A New Look" is particularly noteworthy in this respect. Georgakas not only presents new information on Greek American leftist activities from the turn of the century to the present, but, more importantly, offers a frame of reference that contrasts with the conventional perspective Greek Americans have of themselves and their history. His serious undertaking deserves a serious response.

But first it is necessary to locate Georgakas within Greek American historiography. Georgakas's viewpoint might be termed radical, leftist, Marxist, or, for my purposes here, simply critical. This contrasts with what we can call the mainstream or establishment viewpoint which Georgakas associates with *The Greeks in the United States* (1964) by Theodore Saloutos (1910-1980), the dean of Greek American historians. Surely, if Saloutos has a theme it is the ascent of the Greek immigrant laborer from the margins of society into middle-class status, a movement from social ostracism to acceptance by the dominant culture, an ascent and movement which accelerated among the American-born generations.

My own *Greek Americans: Struggle and Success* (1980) clearly falls within the Saloutos tradition. Saloutos was my mentor as well as personal friend. If anything, I state the argument even more starkly than Saloutos. I describe the dominant characteristic of the Greek American experience as "embourgeoisement," a movement from manual labor to entrepreneurial and middle-class positions, with few parallels in American society. For the Greek immigrants and their progeny the vehicle for ethnic communal identity was found primarily within the Greek Orthodox Church

and, to a lesser degree, in non-political fraternal associations.

To be sure, many Greeks did not succeed in their run for the gold at the end of the rainbow, but a pronounced trend beginning with the early immigrants was an entrepreneurial acumen that met the needs of urbanizing America. This, coupled with self-exploitation, fostered a shopkeeper class in a narrow but familiar range of enterprises: confectioneries, bootblack and shoe repair parlors, dry cleaners and hatters, florists, grocery and produce stores, drinking establishments, and, of course, restaurants.

Certain differences between Saloutos's work and my own should not be overlooked, however. Curiously enough, although I acknowledged the Greek American left much more than did Saloutos, Saloutos's personal politics were politically more liberal than my own centrist position. (Full disclosure: I am anti-Marxist; I am glad Greece did not come under communist rule following the Second World War.) Also, Saloutos did not hold the Greek Orthodox archdiocese in high esteem, a sentiment that was returned. In contrast, my own religious sensibility and ecclesiastic empathies have made my work favorably received by the archdiocese. Thus, it would be misleading to regard Saloutos as an establishment historian, although labeling me as an establishment commentator would be a fair characterization.

Before turning to my disagreements with Georgakas, one other important point should be made—namely, how Saloutos, Georgakas, and I converge in our understanding of Greek America; a convergence, despite ideological differences, that points to some substantive commonalities. All three of us are uncomfortable with psychological renderings of the Greek American experience. Rather, we relate that experience to historical transformations, social class differences, and the interaction between American society and Greek ethnic institutions.

Most important, Saloutos, Georgakas, and I avoid the diaspora model of the Greek experience in this country. That is, we do not view Greek Americans as an extension of an Hellenic homeland, an *homogenia*. To do so has been the black hole of too many Greek American academics. Paradoxically enough, both radical and reactionary Hellenic commentators articulate the diaspora viewpoint.

The more persuasive position is to see Greek Americans as

entrants and then participants in American history. Whatever the fullness of their Hellenic heritage, whatever their ties with the old country, the Greek immigrants who settled here inevitably reordered their lives; initially to the imperatives of the economic structure of the United States and, later, to some degree of conformance with American cultural norms. Especially among those born here, one's identity is not that of a transplanted Greek, but the consciousness of an American ethnic.

But even after clearing away the conceptual underbrush, there is profound disagreement between Dan Georgakas's critical stance and the mainstream viewpoint. Georgakas presents the proposition that left-wing thought and activity have had an appreciable effect on Greek Americans and Greek American institutions. Because Saloutos did not see Greek history in that light, Georgakas regards Saloutos's work as "flawed" (though Georgakas is more generous to my writings). I will argue that Saloutos was correct.

Georgakas states ". . . Greeks were neither particularly prone to radicalism nor particularly antipathetic to it. Their pattern of response was very much in the mode of nearly all other ethnic groups." To make such an assertion, Georgakas must show that Greek Americans have a legacy of Marxism and radicalism approaching (in proportionate terms) those of other immigrant groups. This he never demonstrates.

Even a cursory glance at American immigration history reveals that Georgakas both exaggerates Greek American radicalism and understates the radicalism of other immigrant groups. Italians had a strong anarchist as well as socialist element. Gentile Russians comprised a core group of the original American Communist Party. Communists vied with the Lutheran Church for dominance within the Finnish community. Germans and Scandinavians had such a strong socialist element that it affected American politics. Jews, especially from Eastern Europe, introduced a pronounced socialist and communist component into the American labor movement. Jewish leftists, moreover, permanently reshaped American intellectual life. And so on. Nothing in the Greek American experience approaches these radical tendencies either in terms of long-term effects within the ethnic community or on American society.

The real question for social commentators is not whether or not a Greek American left existed (of course, it did), but why it was so small compared to other immigrant groups and why it has had so little impact on Greek American communal institutions. This is a complex question, but allow me to offer several reasons or, if one prefers, hypotheses, accounting for the overall conservatism of Greek Americans. To ignore these factors is to misunderstand Greek American history.

One reason for the general absence of radicalism among Greek Americans is that the main body of immigrants in the first wave of mass migration came from the Peloponnesus, the region which, in modern Greek history, is the most conservative (indeed, royalist) on political matters and the most traditional on social issues. From the very beginning, the Church became the focal point of communal life. Indeed, it would not be too far afield to propose that Greek American culture is an overlay on a Peloponnesian-American base. We would all be indebted if some researcher would trace the regional backgrounds of those Greeks who engaged in radical activities. I will wager the number of Peloponnesians was disproportionately low.

A second reason is that many Greeks have done well in the United States, more so than most comparable immigrant groups. A very few years after the start of mass migration, there also began, within the Greek immigrant community, that process of internal social stratification that is characteristic of American society as a whole. The beginnings of a Greek American middle class can be detected by, say, 1910. Certainly by the 1920s there were considerable numbers of Greeks who had become owners of small businesses.

Though many of these businesses suffered mightily during the Depression, the prosperity brought on by the Second World War and the post-war period gave the Greek American community a dominant middle-class character. For such Greek Americans, ideologies smacking of disloyalty are anathema. The ideological tone of contemporary Greek America derives from the mutual reinforcement of the petty-bourgeois orientations of the older immigrant generations and the self-selection into Greek American institutional life of the conventionally inclined among the American-born.

A third reason is that most Greeks who initially came to this country saw themselves as temporary workers here; class-based activities in America could only detract from the goal of returning home with a fortune as quickly as possible. In the American West and in the New England mill towns, Greek immigrants were linked much more to those who shared their tongue and heritage than to an abstract "proletariat." The *kafenion*, the workers most common grouping, drew minds away from America and back toward nostalgic memories of the old country. Also, much political energy was wasted on the royalist-Venizelist schism, a political feud having nothing to do with the realities Greeks were confronting in the United States.

The irony was that those Greeks whose economic fortunes turned out best were the ones most likely to put down roots in America. Those who earned only a livelihood, if that, on the other hand, were the most likely to return permanently to Greece. Even among the less economically successful of the immigrants who stayed in America, a disproportionate share never married. In brief, those immigrants who prospered in America, or at least made a decent living, were the most likely to establish families here. The class base of the Greek American left, to overstate somewhat, either returned to Greece or did not reproduce itself.

The key failing of the Greek American left was that it did not reproduce itself sociologically as well as demographically. Of all Greek American institutions, it was preeminently the Greek Orthodox Church that was able to maintain generational continuity (though this remains an ongoing struggle, and the outcome is yet unclear). To a somewhat lesser degree, a similar pattern was found in the mainstream lodges such as the AHEPA, certain *topika somateia*, cultural, and professional organizations. By way of contrast, if there is a Greek American leftist organization anywhere in this country that has carried across two generations, I would like to learn of its existence.

The contradictions of the Greek American left in this country are twofold. The first is that its potential working-class constituency has either disappeared or identified itself with the establishment, whatever its objective class position. The second is in the processes of Americanization itself. Even within mainstream organizations, assimilation differentiates (sometimes antagonistic-

ally) the late arrivals from Greece from the earlier, the old-country-raised from the American-born. For Greek American radicals the process is much more pronounced, because there are no organizational ties between earlier immigrant leftists and contemporary, American-born radicals. Leftist intellectuals, nonparticipating or uncomfortable in the mainstream community, have not created an alternative organizational base.

There is much more to Georgakas's account than a recording of leftist activity in Greek America, however. There is, it seems to me, a deeper content that ought also be addressed, namely, the issue of proportionality. Georgakas assumes that the leftist role is a kind of hidden history of Greeks in America. In point of fact, there is a hidden history of just about everything in Greek America, not because of some nefarious plot of the conservative establishment, but simply because so few people write Greek American history at all. Saloutos himself had to establish a career first as agricultural historian; my own professional work lies in military sociology; and much the same kind of second-order interest describes others working in this area. Though I do not know him personally, I am sure Greek Americana is not paying Georgakas's bills either.

There is not a single historian today whose main research interest is Greek Americans. After Saloutos, nothing. And the dearth of historians can be blamed partly on the small market for Greek American studies.

But the problem is more than just about demand. Greek American studies is *déclassé* among most scholars who deal with contemporary Greece. We feverishly seek to establish modern Greek studies chairs (sometimes paid for, as at Harvard, by Greek taxpayers), but we fail to sponsor research on the Greek experience in America. One of the accomplishments of scholars of modern Greece has been to assert the legitimacy of their subject matter by separating it from classical Greek and Byzantine studies. In a parallel fashion, Greek American studies will remain undeveloped unless they are separated from modern Greek studies.

Precisely because the cupboard for Greek American studies is so bare, the issue of proportionality must be directly addressed. As little as has been done on the Greek American left, even less has been done on more significant institutions. If there is a social

historical analogue with the Greek American left, it is with Greek Protestants. This comparison is not as far-fetched as might seem. Greek Protestant immigrants go back to the nineteenth century; their adherents almost surely exceeded that of the Greek-American left; and they continue to persist on the margins of Greek America. (I am referring not to Greeks who have assimilated into mainline Protestant denominations, but Greek ethnic components within Protestant groups, such as Jehovah's Witnesses.) Here is a group whose history is certainly more "hidden" than that of the Greek American left. Yet no contemporary scholar has ever thought even to look at this group. Which is being slighted more—the Greek American left or the Protestant minority?

But the situation is even more glaring when looking at institutions which have had a significant and durable effect on Greek America. There is no history of the *Philoptochos*, an organization whose membership dwarfs the Greek membership of any radical group. Even the AHEPA has yet to find its historian. Any of a dozen *topika somateia* have affected Greek America more than any group Georgakas mentions, yet not one of these regional organizations has been deemed worthy of scholarly study. And while the historiography of the Greek Orthodox in the United States is beginning to show some life, this is belated and has yet to benefit from any theoretical perspective.

Georgakas's conclusion that the present "patriotic image and comfortable position" of the Greek American community rests on a "tradition of reforming zeal that was unaccepting of America's shortcomings" is wide of the mark. To put it bluntly, the history of the Greek American left is written on sand. When one gets right down to it, it has been the lunchroom owner and not the labor leader who laid the foundations for Greek American communal institutions—the institutions upon which our Greek American identity has come to rest.

Dan Georgakas raises important points. He expands the horizons for productive disagreement in analysis and approach to Greek American history. But he has lost sight of the profound fact that the goal of the overwhelming majority of Greeks who came to this country was a better life, not a better world. In the quest for an alternative history, the student of Greek America can lapse into a history alienated from those who made it.

Response to Charles C. Moskos

by DAN GEORGAKAS

I greatly appreciate the kind remarks contained in Charles Moskos's response to my "Greek Americans: A New Look" series in *The Greek American*. I also respect the criticism he raises. No progress can ever be made in understanding the Greek American experience until we all become comfortable with the process of principled debate. The comments which follow will close the gap between our respective positions to some degree, while at the same time isolating genuine points of difference and indicating problematic areas in Greek American studies.

The view I developed in my series is that the community as we now know it was largely formed by a tradition characterized by a reformism that was unaccepting of America's shortcomings in various areas. One of the major elements in that tradition was the Greek working class and a sometimes significant element within the working class and among intellectuals was the ideological left.

Moskos contrasts my view with what he calls the mainstream or establishment viewpoint epitomized by the work of Theodore Saloutos. He writes that my work might be termed radical, leftist, Marxist, or simply critical. There is a real problem with this perspective insofar as it suggests a kind of either/or framework. I consider Saloutos to be the Alpha of Greek American studies. His landmark work established professional standards for all who have followed, and it provided basic groundwork. Many subsequent writers have, unfortunately, taken Saloutos to be the Omega of Greek American history and simply reproduced his conclusions without examining them seriously, much less testing their validity. My purpose is not to elaborate an alternative history but to contribute additional material and insight into the body of work developed upon the foundations laid down by Saloutos.

My professional training is as a labor historian, and I find

that the history of the working class is consistently underplayed in most histories. There are a myriad of class, financial, and technical reasons for this which are beyond the scope of the present exchange. Within that larger context, however, the shabby treatment of Greek workers in our ethnic histories is not a peculiarly Greek phenomenon but a specific manifestation of a general phenomenon. Saloutos, for example, devotes more than one chapter to Greek commerce but has none on the working class. In an introduction which names groups he has consulted, there are no trade unionists or others associated with labor. His bibliography suffers from the same lack. I suspect this myopia has much more to do with his professional training than any ideological skulduggery. When Saloutos undertook his task, much of the data now in hand was unknown and sensitivity to labor history was unusual. Perhaps the most significant change since the time of Saloutos is that working class histories have gone beyond a simple chronicle of trade unions and prominent individuals to exploration of the everyday culture of a class. Much of this history is hard to evaluate given the lack of formal documents. The task becomes even harder when dealing with Greek workers of the early period, as they were quite mobile, somewhat secretive, and wedded to an oral rather than written tradition.

While neither Moskos nor Saloutos are hostile to Greek workers, they see the working class as a category one should escape rather than a class with its own potential, merits, and achievements. However we may view the working class, its contributions to our community must be measured in ongoing historical work in which hard data, not theories, are decisive. This work must be done soon, as critical documentation is being lost. Many Greek-language newspapers have disappeared from collections which once carried them (i.e., *Embros* in the New York Public Library). It is also essential that veterans of working class struggles donate personal papers to appropriate historical collections such as the Tamiment Library of New York University and make themselves available for oral histories. If this is not done, much of their contribution to our ethnic and national life might be lost or permanently obscured. Uncovering the hidden history of workers is as much the workers' task as that of historians.

The earliest writing about the Greeks in America stated that

Greeks had an ethnic antipathy to Marxism. Saloutos endorsed that view. I hold that Greeks were typical of the majority of ethnic groups in that while the left never dominated community life, at various times and places it was a significant force. Saloutos does make passing reference to leftist newspapers, but he seems unaware that they are part of a nearly forty-year history of continuous publication and political activism. He can be faulted for not doing better independent research in this area, but he obviously believed other subjects would be more fruitful. This orientation away from labor and the left may also have been unconsciously influenced by the McCarthyite hysteria which preceded the time in which he published.

In his *Greek-Americans*, Moskos acknowledges the leftist nature of the fur workers union and the revival of the left in the anti-junta movement, but in his response to my essay, he shies away from pursuing such phenomena. Instead, he seeks to refute my views by stating that the Finns, Germans, gentile Russians, Jews, and Italians were all more radical than the Greeks. With the possible exception of the Italians, the groups he cited happen to have been the most radical of *all* the immigrants, forming exactly the category from which I had dissociated the Greeks. Italian anarchosyndicalism did not move toward communism but to a militant trade unionism, often involving an ethnic component. An exception to this pattern occurred in New York City where Congressman Vito Marcantonio was the leader of the radical American Labor Party and Communist Pete Caccione was elected to the city council. The Russians and Finns had ethnic ties to the Bolshevik Revolution, and tens of thousands of both groups returned to the USSR "to build socialism." The Jews were the single largest ethnic group in the American Communist Party, just as in an earlier era transplanted German socialists were a dominant group in the Socialist Party headed by Eugene V. Debs and Victor Berger. I totally agree with Moskos that the Greek American left did not have a comparable impact on ethnic or national culture.

What I do contend is that the Greek American left had more influence than previous ethnic histories have indicated. Although I will not review the material presented in my six-part essay, I wish to add that while it is more than the tip of the iceberg, it

is not the entire iceberg by any means. New data, for example, indicates that a group of Greek workers were at the core of an Ohio strike crucial to the development of the CIO. I have also established that Greeks were involved in the IWW-led Colorado Coal Strike of 1928. This is doubly significant because that strike was the first in Colorado coal since the Ludlow Massacre of 1913, in which Greeks had played a major role. In short, we have an example of a Greek radical tradition spanning a full decade. Regarding the comparison of Greeks with other ethnics in the American Communist Party, the record is clear. During the time the Communist Party had language sections, Greeks were in the second tier with groups like the Poles, Hungarians, and Italians. This was in distinction to ethnic groups which did not have enough communists to form an independent language section or groups in the first tier such as Jews and Finns.

The peak of Greek radical impact was in the late 1930s and the war years. The creation of the CIO was the work of a left liberal/radical coalition, with much of the new constituency composed of ethnics. Greek workers were part of that process, whether in a red union like the furriers or a left-liberal union like the UAW. During the war years, *Ethnikos Keryx*, one of the two national Greek-language dailies, actively supported the Communist-led EAM-ELAS, which enjoyed broad support in Greek America. The combined circulation of liberal and radical papers exceeded that of the conservative and reactionary press. The sources for this conclusion are data gathered by the OSS. Even if one claims circulation figures were exaggerated, the inescapable reality is that a liberal/radical coalition was one of the two major political trends in Greek America. For a time, this coalition was supported by the White House and the largest American trade unions. Close reading of other OSS reports on public meetings in various regions further underscores the depth of radical impact on the community.

Moskos is correct in saying that the Greek American left did not reproduce itself in the way the European left did after the Second World War or as the Greek Orthodox Church did. He is wrong, however, to think it has disappeared. It would be irresponsible for me to name individuals or organizations currently active in Greek affairs with direct links to the left of the 1940s. The

McCarran-Walter Act is still on the books and being used actively (see the Margaret Randall deportation case), so I will not place anyone in possible jeopardy. But if one looks only at the Astoria community in New York City, there is obvious continuity of the radical tradition. Having said that, there is no denying the reality of a public gap with the past and the fact that the current left is considerably smaller than its predecessors. This very situation makes it hard for us to comprehend how different the balance of forces was prior to 1950. Because of the tremendous pressure applied by the American government in the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s, we can never know if the momentum of the Greek American left had been spent by the end of the war or if it was simply persecuted to the brink of extinction and forced underground. The intensity of federal pressure was partly due to the Greek Civil War and was a kind of preemptive first strike to clear the ground for a compliant pro-NATO Greek America. The very need to persecute the Greek American left so vigorously is testimony to its vitality at the time.

One misunderstanding of my position is evident in Moskos's counteranalysis of the Greek American left. He believes that I am arguing that the left's role is the core of a hidden history of the Greeks in America. That is not my contention. My thesis is that the active role of the working class is largely unrecorded and that within that history there is far more radical content than previously suspected. I quite agree that the reason this history remains hidden has less to do with any nefarious plot than with the paucity of writing about Greek America. Hats off to Moskos for emphasizing the Greek American history is *déclassé* even among Greek scholars. And yes, Greek American studies need to be severed from classical Greek, Byzantine Greek, and modern Greek studies. More productive insights will flow when Greek America is put into the context of other immigrant histories and the larger pattern of American history. If this is to be called the Saloutos tradition, long life to it.

I find Moskos's comparison of the Greek American left with Greek Protestants to be invalid if not facetious. While there is surely an untold history of Greek Protestants, to my knowledge that group has never had an important impact on the community. They have never had their views championed by a

major Greek-language daily, nor have they won support from mass organizations such as the CIO. Their own press and radio programs have never enjoyed even the limited successes of left counterparts. The American government also considers them an insignificant factor in Greek American life. In the thousands of pages issued by the OSS about our community, I don't think there is a single reference to Greek Protestants.

Moskos is on much sounder ground in calling for histories of our ethnic societies. AHEPA is at the head of his list, as it is at the head of mine. How shameful that the organization itself or some other cultural group has not funded such a work. A caveat in this regard is that we do not need a self-serving hagiography of AHEPA, but a genuine history of its birth during the revival of the Ku Klux Klan and the various stages in its maturation as a major community institution. I believe such a history would lend additional support to the ideas advanced in my hidden history series.

Moskos celebrates the "embourgeoisement" of Greek America. Frankly, I don't think anyone has explained what that term actually means in regard to Greek American life. Although Greeks have been first in education and second in income among all ethnic groups since the 1960s, what such findings indicate is problematic. Many Greek enterprises remain marginal. Many others, while lucrative, require owners to be present six or seven days a week. Professions that have attracted Greeks do not always have the same social status they once enjoyed. For example, a body of theory regards public school teachers as part of a new working class because of the terms of employment, conditions of work, and reduced social prestige. The relatively new phenomenon of large numbers of permanently part-time college faculty also blurs established class distinctions. High-income blue collar and civil service jobs are other misleading categories. Such consideration suggests that relatively high norms of income and education do not necessarily translate into the traditional definition of middle class.

Another problem relates to our cultural life. A strong case could be made that Greek American values are an amalgam of traditional peasant culture enriched by working class needs and covered by a patina of middle class rhetoric. Greeks, to be sure,

have not produced the rich intellectual life that the Jews have, even though Greeks and Jews alternate between first and second in most measures of economic and educational attainment among immigrants. Books on Greek topics have minimal sales and college courses oriented to Greek subjects are poorly attended and poorly financed. This is not the pattern associated with a vibrant middle class culture.

The very definition of Greek American remains ephemeral. Many individuals who describe themselves as Greeks do not show up in surveys measuring community values. This is largely due to the fact that most such surveys are based on church records or referrals. Such methodology automatically exaggerates the prevalence of the conservative views of the regular church-going minority and wealthy benefactors of churches. Just how real the impact of the church has been on daily behavior is most questionable. Formal church membership may be high and major rituals may be observed by a majority of Greeks, but the Greek clergy does not appear to have the kind of influence on the community that is characteristic of Evangelical clergy or even Catholic priests. Greek men, in particular are notoriously indifferent to church doctrines. In this sense, the Greek Orthodox Church in North America may be much like its counterpart in Greece, ever-present but not necessarily influential. If this is indeed the case, we do not have a good measure of Greek American cultural values, much less a sense of the source of those values.

Moskos also writes that since the majority of Greek immigrants appear to have come from the Peloponnesus, a region known as a royalist bastion, the die for a conservative Greek America was cast early. Numerous objections arise to this proposition. Records often only show from which port an immigrant came, rather than the region of origin. Thus, departure from Patras, a major port, does not necessarily indicate an immigrant is Peloponnesian. Just as relevant is the fact that different areas of the Peloponnesus had different political traditions, so we need to know what part of the Peloponnesus an individual came from. Finally, we need to examine what royalism meant to an immigrant of the early 1900s. For many, it did not signify support for the status quo so much as support for the symbol of Greek nationhood. Transplanted to a hostile American environment, a strong sense of national pride

linked to a vibrant revolutionary tradition could easily take a liberal or radical course. Most European immigrants came from conservative rural areas, but in America became avid supporters of the ultra-liberal New Deal.

A more fundamental position taken by Moskos is that Greeks came to America for a better life, not to make a better world. Quite so. Precisely because they sought a better life in America, they had to become part of movements which challenged the prevailing American jingoism. As have-nots, whether workers or shopkeepers, Greeks were drawn to the kind of political program exemplified by the policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt and by the social reorganization championed by militant unions. Beneath an increasingly conservative surface, the commitment to change remains strong. This is evidenced in voting patterns among urban Greeks in various locales and in the emergence of Greek political leadership in Massachusetts, one of the most liberal of all the states. New trends that may have evolved in the Reagan era, and temporary trends associated with the ill-fated ascent of Spiro Agnew to the vice-presidency, must not obscure the realities of previous decades, just as those patterns might not be predictive of what will transpire in the remaining years of this century.

Finally, there is the matter of personal ideology. I tried to avoid such identifications in my original essay. In the past, attaching labels to an author's work has often substituted for formal analysis of the content of that work. Nonetheless, it is also true that every writer brings a particular world-view to data and that a world-view influences what data are sought in the first place. I believe this is what Moskos has in mind with what he calls his truth-in-labeling statement that he is more centrist than Saloutos was, is anti-Marxist, and is glad Greece did not come under communist rule after the Second World War. My response is that I am influenced by Karl Marx in the same way I would hope all physicists are influenced by Albert Einstein and all psychologists by Sigmund Freud. I am also quite aware that Marx has been dead for over a century, and that he himself warned that no one should ever be a Marxist. I certainly would like to see a world economic system based on cooperative rather than competitive principles, in which development rather than exploitation

of human and natural resources is the norm. As far as recent Greek history is concerned, I believe the Greek people deserved a government of their own choice at the end of the Second World War. I believe that government would have been dominated by the coalition found in EAM-ELAS and that there would have been no civil war under such an administration. I further believe that the long-term benefits of such a government, for both the US and Greece, would have been immense.

The Moskos-Georgakas Debate: A Rejoinder

by ALEXANDROS KITROEFF

The appraisal of Dan Georgakas's historical series, "Greek Americans: A New Look," by Professor Charles C. Moskos, and Georgakas's response, all of which appeared recently in *The Greek-American*, have provided a thought-provoking exchange on Greek American history. Moskos took issue with Georgakas's thesis that the Greek American tradition has been influenced by working-class and left-wing political activity. In his response to Moskos's comments, Georgakas goes a considerable way toward closing the gap between their respective positions, but retaining the core element of his original position, which is the relative importance of the political left in the Greek American experience. Surveying the series of articles and the exchange between Moskos and the author, my own conclusion is simply that the jury is still out, not for lack of level-headed persuasiveness on either side, but for lack of evidence. More specifically, since this is a historical issue and not a legal case, judgment has to be reserved because there is not adequate qualitative data to provide the synthesis required to put forward, reject, or contextualize Georgakas's thesis.

What I mean by this is the following. In the wake of Georgakas's clarifications on Moskos's response and the closing of the gap, the distance that still remains between them is a *terra incognita* made up of as-yet-uninvestigated factual areas not only concerning the left wing of the community, but its totality, and, ultimately, the interaction of politics and ideology within the Greek American entity and the outcome of this in terms of mentality and culture. I am not the best-qualified person to pass judgment on the views of these two students of Greek American history, whose work I greatly respect. Next to Saloutos, Charles

Moskos's contribution is the most valuable study of Greek Americans. I also think that Dan Georgakas's viewpoint is a well-argued and refreshing new look, and in fact more an addition rather than a variation on the mainstream theme of Moskos and Saloutos.

For a number of years now, contemporary historiography has turned its attention from the eponymous to the anonymous, from the mass leaders to the led masses. The increased participation of ordinary citizens in politics, witnessed in the West since the 1960s, helped historians observe the contemporary importance of such phenomena and test their efficacy in past situations when the masses (and not the "mobs," as more traditional commentators would describe them) broke on the scene. Following this, interest has spread toward recording the daily life of the anonymous, irrespective of their political engagement, but with a view to including them in the social equation of a certain period. This is what is known by the rather ungainly expression of "history from the bottom up."

The danger with "history from the bottom up" is that one can enthusiastically overascribe importance to an anonymous group, however large. Another pitfall is the assumption of, say, mass radicalism evidenced by only a small *avant-garde* group, whose impact is shortlived and unrepresentative of the majority. Georgakas, in introducing a "history from the bottom up" perspective, has been aware of these difficulties, and has resisted building his case on three or four examples. One could say that he has overcompensated by unearthing a remarkable array of information pointing to Greek American radicalism over space and time, so much so that the qualitative impact is yet to be satisfactorily evaluated. And in fact, there is more data to come, I believe. Through my reading of the Greek American press during the first half of this century, I am coming across several examples of labor union and left-wing related activities involving Greek Americans.

Even when everything is eventually added up, Moskos will still be awaiting proof that all this activity amounted to a more general contemporary influence in the 1920s and 1930s and a lasting effect in the following decades. Though he may not have to wait long for a case to be made of the relative importance of

the radical element to the community as a whole, the lasting effect will be more difficult to establish. The Greek Civil War and the McCarthy period may well have severed the radical roots spawned during the previous years. Moskos is unfair to suggest that the disappearance in the 1950s—the lack of sociological and demographic reproduction, as he calls it—of the Greek American radical tradition proves its original ineffectiveness. He is right, though, to question the continuity of the old with the new 1950s and 1960s immigrant radicalism. This leads to a wider discussion about the community's continuity, something I can only indicate here without enlarging upon. There is a thirty-year gap between the end of mass emigration from Greece in the early 1920s and its resumption in two waves, one in the early 1950s and the other after 1968, when the 1965 US legislation came into effect. The continuity in communal activities in general, and not just in left-wing activities, can be questioned. A scholarly study of AHEPA, for instance, the lack of which Moskos and Georgakas lament, could fruitfully investigate the time its leaders emigrated to the United States. The same should be done for the other communal institutions.

To establish the relative importance of the radical tradition in the 1920s and the 1930s, and for other periods as well, one would also have to take issue with Moskos's embourgeoisement theory, which is the central one not only in his own work, but in the work of Theodore Saloutos, the dean of Greek American historiography. In his response to Georgakas, Moskos summed up the reasons why he believes that while a Greek American left did indeed exist, its impact was minimal because of the overall conservatism of Greek Americans.

The first of those reasons was that most of the first wave of immigrants (1890s-1920s) came from the Peloponnesus, one of the most conservative regions of Greece. Georgakas counters this by pointing out that embarkation from Patras does not necessarily imply a Peloponnesian origin and that different areas of the Peloponnesus had different political traditions. Though Moskos is certainly on safe ground on this one, I share Georgakas's doubts about how easily we can conclude an across-the-board Peloponnesian conservatism. Not because there is doubt in my mind about the overwhelming Peloponnesian presence in the

United States, best proven perhaps by the registry archives of the Greek Orthodox archdiocese in New York that I have consulted. Rather, it is a question of who those Peloponnesians who emigrated were. Peloponnesus is known for its conservatism. But, did they travel directly from their mainly mountain villages after the failure of the currant crop, or did they spend time in Patras or Piraeus, where their rural conservatism was likely to be jolted even before joining the production line across the Atlantic?

We should also be aware of the fact that there was early domestic migration from Lakonia to other areas of Greece, one of them to Lavrio near Cape Sounion, where these migrants worked in the mines. The Lavrio mines were, of course, the site of the first strike activity in modern Greece. Should I hasten to add that research is still lacking concerning the origins of the Lavrio militants, and as Moskos points out, the litmus test of Peloponnesian politics in the United States will be the establishment of the geographical origins of Greek American radicals.

I would argue even less with Moskos's other points, namely the temporary stay in the United States of many Greek workers and the fact that, as he puts it, "the irony . . . that those Greeks whose economic fortunes turned out best were the ones most likely to put down roots in America." Georgakas takes issue with perhaps the most important reason for the community's overall conservatism offered by Moskos, namely, the remarkable upward social mobility of Greek Americans.

Moskos is correct, I think, to indicate that the beginnings of a Greek American middle class can be detected in the 1920s. It was not a coincident that AHEPA, representing middle class assimilationist values, was formed that decade. I am not sure to what extent this Greek American middle class was able to dominate and direct community affairs. For instance, it took AHEPA over ten years to overcome its rival organization, GAPA, which at the time represented a lower middle class (petty bourgeois) ethos. And what happened to that middle class and its influence during the Depression?

Did it perhaps suffer a demise, a hypothesis that may be supported by Georgakas's belief that Greek American values (he refers to a paucity of intellectual achievement) do not conform to a "pattern associated with a vibrant middle class culture."

More research needs to be done in this area. Perhaps, instead of "embourgeoisement," we'll discover a more dominant "em-petit-bourgeoisement" with those Greek Americans successfully joining the middle and upper classes actually being propeled up and out of the Greek American entity, leaving the community leadership to lower middle class members, who subsequently rode the wave of successive emigration in the 1950s and 1960s.

I do not mean to sit on the fence over Moskos's embourgeoisement and Georgakas's radical tradition by suggesting an "em-petitbourgeoisement" position. As sociologists have pointed out, the "petty bourgeoisie" is a social group that vacillates between the middle class and the working class. Moskos and Saloutos have shown clearly the upward drift, while Georgakas has begun to show the working class radical influence. It may well be that for all its upward mobility, only a small part of the community graduated into the American middle class proper, and that the radical influence found fertile ground at times not because Greek Americans were militant workers, but because they were caught between the American dream and American reality.

The Struggle For A Living

by BABIS MALAFOURIS

The new arrivals during the early period of immigration from southern and northeastern Europe were ignorant of the language and working conditions in the United States. They worked under contract to small shopowners or brokers who, in exchange for their labor, gave them accommodations, food, and a very small salary, thus exploiting them. This system of working contracts was first used by the Italians in the construction industries and on the railroads, and the name "padrone" was given to those contractors who controlled their newly-arrived compatriots body and soul. Government inspectors early on showed concern for the welfare of these new immigrants who had come to America under contract from abroad. The Immigration Commission asked Alcibiades Seraphic, an inspector at the Bureau of Immigration, to prepare a brief report of the conditions under which Greek laborers lived and worked.

The results of Seraphic's study were published in 1911 in a special report of the Immigration Commission, entitled "The Greek Padrone System in the United States."¹ In this revealing report, Seraphic states that the padrone system of contracting laborers from abroad during the decade 1900-1910 operated principally among Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Mexicans, Austrians, and Italians. Among the Greeks, the system operated in every city in the United States which had a population of over 10,000.

Greeks contracted under the padrone system were confined to shoeshining establishments for the most part, but Greeks were also contracted as railroad laborers in the Western states and as fruit and vegetable vendors in Chicago. Those employed in peddling and shoeshining usually were from twelve to seventeen years of age, while those employed on the railroad were usually

¹United States Immigration Commission, "Abstract of the Report on the Greek Padrone System in the United States," Washington, D.C., 1911.

above twenty. In New York, boys under sixteen were used by florists, who sent them to Park Row and other points in the city to sell flowers, most often old stock which could not be sold in the stores. The lads employed by regular florists usually lived in decent quarters, were fed well, and received their board and between fifty to one-hundred dollars per year salary—conditions which were satisfactory indeed, for those times and for the work done.

But conditions for those who worked for the padrone's benefit by peddling candy, fruit, and vegetables were very different. These boys lived in basements or in filthy, unsanitary rooms; their quarters sometimes were located over stables or in the same building in which the horses and wagons used in the business were kept. These quarters consisted of two, three, or four rooms, one of which was used as a kitchen. The bedrooms were small and poorly ventilated, and each was furnished with one or two beds. No sheets or pillowcases were used, and, at times, there were no pillows. The only bed clothes were the rough, woollen blankets brought from Greece. These were rarely washed and their odor offensive, owing to the filth and perspiration permeating them.

In these ill-smelling rooms, occupants are crowded at the rate of two, three, and sometimes four in one bed, with windows closed tight to permit no ventilation. All fruit and vegetables left unsold are stored during the night in the kitchen and in these bedrooms. The breakfast of the boys consists of black coffee and bread. With few exceptions they fast through the day until evening, when the day's work is done and they return to their living quarters. Among vegetable and fruit peddlers in Illinois, the work of the boys usually consists in going up to the flats from the rear of buildings with samples of vegetables or fruit and securing orders while the padrone is watching his stock. It is not infrequent that two boys are used on each peddling wagon. Knowledge of English on the part of both the padrones and the boys is limited, as a rule, to the names of fruits and vegetables and their prices. In this business the employment of boys is desirable and, in fact, necessary, for the reason, as the padrones frankly admit,

that women do not take offense at boys coming to their flats and order more readily from them than from the padrones, who, being adults and rough in appearance, inspire the women with fear. These peddlers, as a rule, rise between 5:00 and 6:00 in the morning and sometimes earlier if the vegetable markets have to be visited for purchases. After their day's work is done they return home, generally between 4:00 and 7:00 in the afternoon. Upon reaching home the boys are made to do the cooking and prepare their principal meal. In each peddling company there are usually from three to four wagons and from four to eight boys. Three or four nights in the week their food consists of meat stews with beans or potatoes. On other nights no meals are prepared, but they eat bread, cheese, and olives. They are inadequately dressed for cold winter weather, but in spite of this and of the unsanitary conditions under which they eat and sleep, they are usually healthy, owing to their being in the fresh air during the entire day.

The shoe-polishing business is the main field in which the padrone system is operated, and it is therefore treated in greater detail in this report.

Boys employed as bootblacks live in unsanitary quarters and are absolutely ignorant of the necessity of fresh air. They and their employers close all windows to prevent the contracting of colds, and, in addition, sleep with their heads covered, this being the manner of sleeping in their native villages. Wherever space will allow, two and three beds are placed in one room, three and sometimes four boys sleeping in one bed. In some places no beds at all are used, but the boys roll themselves up in their blankets and sleep on the floor.

As the shoe-polishing shops are opened between 6:00 and 6:30 in the morning, the boys are compelled to get up between 5:00 and 5:30 and, in large cities where living quarters are some distance from their place of work, they rise as early as 4:30. They remain at work from morning until 9:30 or 10:00 at night, excepting in some small cities where the shops are closed about 8:00 or 8:30, and on Saturday and Sunday nights the closing hour is usually

later. After the doors to the shine establishments are closed the boys have to mop the floors, clean the marble stand and other fixtures, and gather up the rags to take home. They then proceed to their living quarters, where supper has to be prepared, although in places where upward of ten boys reside, one of them usually acts as cook in the morning and prepares the night meal. Of the meal prepared in the morning, the boy cook at noon takes part to the store, the other part being left at the house for supper. In the rear of nearly every shoeshining establishment a small space is partitioned off. This is almost without exception filthy and nauseating. Into this place the dinner is brought. Each boy then disappears behind the partition and devours as fast as he can his share of the food, the padrone or his manager apportioning it. They eat singly, and if customers arrive the boy has to suspend eating his dinner and attend to patrons. In the majority of places the noon meal consists of bread and olives and cheese. When the stores are closed and the boys reach home, supper is prepared or heated; after eating, the boys go to bed, all so completely exhausted that many retire with their working clothes on, divesting themselves of only their coats and shoes. Two of the boys have to remain up to wash the dirty rags used at the shop and hang them around the stove to dry, so that they may be available for use the following day.

In some few places beds and sheets are used, and the boys live under fair conditions; these are exceptions, however, and occur in places run by Greeks who are somewhat Americanized, are married, and have their wives taking care of the living quarters.

Some padrones running shoeshining establishments in the business sections of the larger cities, in order to save a few dollars in rental, room their help nearly an hour's walking distance from their place of business; as no car fares are allowed by the padrones, the boys have to walk; the time consumed in covering the distance the boys pay by loss of sleep; that is, they have to get up early enough to have breakfast, walk downtown, and be in the business district in time to open the shops by 6:00 or 6:30 a.m.

They have to work every day in the year, as they are permitted no days off. In a good many shops the boys are not continuously at work and are enabled to get breathing spells, but they are nevertheless confined to the place during the entire year. So absolute is this confinement in most cases that boys have been in the United States and in the same city upward of three or four years and yet their knowledge of the city they live in is limited entirely to their workplace, their living quarters, and the streets they traverse in going to and from work.

Padrones forbid the boys to have much to say to Greeks coming to the shop unless the padrones are present. By this means of complete isolation they are enabled to keep their help in ignorance of the English language and the labor conditions in this country, thereby preventing them from receiving information by contact with persons of their own race and learning that they can do better in other occupations and elsewhere. The boys are constantly watched by either the padrone, the manager, or relatives of the padrone; in every shine place the padrone has relatives laboring for him who act as spies on the other boys. The moment an outsider engages a boy in conversation, those interested crowd around to hear. In nearly all instances the boys refuse to answer questions concerning their ages and their work in the presence of the padrone or his spies; if they do answer, they lie, making such false statements as they have been instructed to make by their employer. To frustrate further any attempts of outsiders to induce them to leave, either for places of like character or for other occupations, many padrones insist on reading, or having their managers read, all letters the boys receive while in their employ, and likewise examine letters they send out, not excepting those to their parents. Through this method the padrones are enabled to prevent complaints against themselves from the boys to their parents in Greece, whose good will the padrones are anxious to retain. They dislike to have it reported in Greece that they are mistreating their help, as information travels from village to village easily and creates a tendency to blacklist them,

thereby closing in a measure their source of procuring new recruits. In some instances boys are physically punished by padrones, but such cases are not frequent.

The continuous work of long hours with no recreation recuperation in the least, and the physical fatigue incident thereto, arrest perceptibly the development of their power of mind. The ravages on the constitutions of these boys laboring in shine establishments under this system are appalling. The causes that bring this about are chiefly the following: long hours and close confinement to their work; the unsanitary conditions under which they live; their unhealthy manner of sleeping with total disregard of the necessity of fresh air; their close confinement to the work they perform in places overheated and poorly ventilated in the winter; the stooping position required by their work; the inadequate nourishment; the dust of shoes, swarming with microbes, and the injurious polish chemicals they inhale while at work; the filthy condition of their bodies, resulting from their failure to bathe; and the inadequacy of their wearing apparel to meet the severity of our winters, so much more trying than those in Greece.

The statement which follows, signed by nearly all of the Greek physicians of the city of Chicago, among them Dr. Nicolaos Salopoulos, Greek consul-general for many years, can leave no doubt that the situation is grave.

Consulate-General of Greece
Chicago, November 16, 1910

My Dear Sir:

In compliance with your request that I embody in a written statement intended for the United States Immigration Commission what I verbally said to you regarding the ruinous effects of shoeshining work on young Greeks, I beg to state:

In my extensive practice as physican among Greeks in this city and in my official visits as Greek consul-general to neighboring states, I have had the opportunity of examining and treating numerous boys and studying their living conditions and the character of their work. As a result, I

am convinced that all boys under eighteen years of age, who labor for a few years in shine establishments, develop serious chronic stomachic and hepatic troubles, which predispose them to pulmonary disease.

Kent in close confinement for long hours, inadequately nourished, living under insanitary and unhygienic conditions, maintaining almost continuously stooping positions, and inhaling dust full of microbes and cheap polish chemicals, the majority of them ultimately contract tuberculosis. Some very few, favored with exceptionally vigorous constitutions, may resist, but if they remain at such work for a long time they generally become affected through contagion.

It is, in my opinion, more humane and infinitely better for young Greeks to be refused admission into the United States than to be permitted to land if they are intended for such employment.

Very truly yours,
N. Salopoulos
Greek Consul-General

United States Immigration Commission
United States Congress, Washington, D.C.

Gentlemen:

We, the undersigned Greek physicians, practicing in the city of Chicago, Illinois, respectfully submit to your honorable commission the following:

This statement embodies in substance what each of us verbally stated to United States Immigrant Inspector, A. A. Seraphic, with reference to our observations of the effects of shoeshining work upon the physical condition of young Greeks in this city and vicinity.

In our extensive practice among Greeks, we have become familiar with the character of work performed by bootblacks and the conditions under which they live. We have professionally observed that young immigrants laboring in shoeshining places for a period upwards of two years become affected with chronic gastritis and hepatitis.

These diseases undermine their constitutions, so that if they continue longer at the same work they become afflicted with pulmonary tuberculosis. Being too ignorant to take precautionary measures, the disease is communicated to others by contagion. The causes we attribute to the close confinement of these boys, their long hours at work, their unsanitary and unhygienic living conditions, inadequate nourishment, stooping position, and the inhaling of dust from shoes full of microbes and mixed with polish chemicals which irritate and injure the bronchial tubes and pulmonary organs. We deem this occupation highly injurious and destructive to the physique of young Greek boys, and believe that the United States government would do better to deport them rather than to allow them to land if they are destined to this employment under existing conditions.

Respectfully,

N. Salopoulos, M.D.

69 Dearborn Street

B. Georgas, M.D.

39 State Street

L. Diamesis, M.D.

16 West Chicago Avenue

J. N. Volicos, M.D.

501 Cass Street

Const. Theodore, M.D.

70 State Street

Christ. Petrulas

603 South Halsted Street

Const. Kalliontzis, M.D.

109 East Randolph Street

G.A. Papailiou, M.D.

535 South Halsted Street

Chicago, November 16, 1910²

²These excerpts have been copyedited to conform to the *Journal's* spelling and punctuation style. (*Eds.*)

The Greeks were the first to dignify the shoeshine business by setting up expensively-fitted shoeshine parlors in locations where high rentals were paid. The promoters of this system were, among others, Smerlis of New Jersey; Coliviras Brothers of Baltimore; Yokaris Brothers of New York; Janopoulos and Manetas Brothers of Tennessee; Bouzos Brothers of Louisiana and Alabama; and Mihalopoulos Brothers of Illinois. These were among the first launched in the business, and in a short time they found it profitable to branch out, establishing several stores in the major cities. Smerlis is credited with personally starting and operating over a hundred shine establishments in the United States. He sold most of them and by 1910 maintained only three in Canada. But the success of the shoeshine establishments led others to try the business, and within a few years practically every city in the Union with a population of over 10,000 had bootblack shops run by Greeks.

When Greek boys arrived in America, the likelihood of becoming public charges usually was overcome by having one of their friends, relatives, or fellow villagers telegraph the immigration officer at the port of entry, stating their willingness and ability to befriend the new immigrants. The father would deliver his son as prearranged, directly or indirectly through correspondence, into the hands of the padrone a week or so after landing. In a few cases where no agreement existed, the father generally proceeded to Chicago where he was sure to meet friends and be taken care of in one of the Greek saloons or restaurants on South Halsted Street. Chicago was regarded the most likely market for hiring boys who were brought there by their parents, and padrones throughout the United States had friends or relatives represent them in securing the boys's service in that city. Within a week of his arrival, any boy in Chicago could find his way into some shine establishment anywhere in the country.

Many Greek boys landing in the United States early in 1907 came either in charge of pseudo-fathers or claimed falsely that they were destined to cities in the interior where someone they allged was their father awaited them. Pseudo-fathers were adult immigrants bearing distant or no relationship to the boys they brought in as their sons. They did this either for pay or, in the majority of cases, as a favor to the parents of the boys in Greece

or to the padrones in the United States. The boys assumed the surname of the pseudo-father in these cases, and the claim was made during primary inspection that they were father and son.

Alcibiades Seraphic says that the effect of the padrone system as enforced by the Greeks in the shoeshining business in the U.S. displaced the Italians and other nationalities and left the Greeks in almost-total control of the field. In 1910 there were several thousand shoeshining parlors across the U.S. operated by Greeks and, with few exceptions, they were under the padrone system. Even at the outset their success was a foregone conclusion, because they managed their business in such a way as to render competition impossible. No other nationality could have competed with the Greeks in this line unless they were able to secure their labor under equally favorable conditions. In the majority of cases, Greeks derived an income from each boy amounting to \$100 to \$200 per year and, in some cases, \$300 to \$500 per year. The wages paid by the padrones to young Greeks in shoeshining establishments ranged from a minimum of \$80 per year to a maximum of \$250 per year, with the average wages falling between \$120 to \$180 per year. But the boys were bound by agreement to turn their tips over to their padrones. In most places, the boy deposited his tip in the register as soon as the patron had departed; in other places, tips were deposited in a separate box to which the padrone held the key. Even in the poorest locations, each boy's tips exceeded the sum of fifty cents a day, while in large cities the average tip was higher. Therefore, while paying a maximum wage of \$250 per year, the Greek padrone was receiving nearly double that amount from tips alone. After deducting the annual boarding expense for each boy, which seldom exceeded \$40 annually, and after deducting wages, the padrone was still left a sum of money which paid him for allowing the boy to work in his place. In other words, from tips alone (which belonged to the boy by rights), the padrone was able to house the boy and pay his annual wages, and still have a respectable sum left—and all this independent of his legitimate business profits.

The poorer classes in Greece, Seraphic continues, and particularly those of the provinces from which bootblacks were drafted, had no real ambition to educate their children, largely because they themselves were to a great extent ignorant and un-

able to appreciate the value of education. Therefore, the Greek peasant was more concerned with the income he might get by placing his children at work than with educating them. The Greek peasantry was generally poor and overburdened by the excessive interest rates exacted from them by usurers. The Greek peasant who was the head of a household was also overburdened by the dowry system, which demanded they provide a dowry for each daughter. Consequently, they looked upon their male offspring as a means of lightening the burden of providing for their families and furnishing dowries for their daughters. It was common in Greece and among Greeks in the United States that young men having several sisters would labor fifteen and twenty years under conditions bordering on privation in order to save enough money to pay the dowry required for each sister when she reached a marriageable age. Females in Greece did not work outside of their homes, and the earning capacity of a family was limited to the male members; consequently, a father lost no time in placing his sons in employment.

The rights of workers were little understood by the laboring classes from the interior of Greece. As a result, when the opportunity arose for a peasant to place his son at work in the United States at high wages, he deemed himself fortunate. He instructed his son not to quit the services of the padrone he was destined to serve in the United States and the boys helplessly believed that, were it not for the employment opportunity offered them by padrones, they would starve because of their ignorance of the language and labor conditions in this country. As a matter of fact, during their first and second years in the U.S., boys profusely expressed their gratitude to their employers for giving them the opportunity to earn their keep and some money. Because they became familiar with the country's opportunities and language only very slowly, their realization that labor enjoyed certain rights in the United States was retarded. None knew in the beginning that the padrone system was an abuse which did not have to be tolerated.

The padrones were the interpreters or assistant foremen in charge of Greek gangs of laborers involved in railroad work. According to Seraphic, they induced laborers in Greece to migrate to America through agents who promised permanent work at high

wages ranging from \$1.75 to \$2.00 per day. These agents in Greece were usually relatives of the interpreters. The laborers were given their steamship tickets and "show money," and were induced to mortgage their property for amounts equaling two, three, and four times the actual purchase value of their ticket. These agents traveled through Greek villages telling farm laborers they were fools to be wasting their time working for starvation wages when they could go to the United States and work on railroads for guaranteed wages ranging from \$1.75 to \$2.00 per day. They said that their brothers and relatives were railroad bosses in the United States who had secured work contracts for anyone who wished to migrate over a period of three years; and that anyone willing to migrate would be furnished with his steamship ticket and "show money" (between \$12 and \$15) and would be guaranteed work in the United States. The agents claimed that immigrants would be able within three or four months' time to pay off their mortgage-indebtedness at home. Because of such promises, the poorly-paid laborer in Greece was induced to mortgage his home and migrate to the United States, where he was placed at work in a padrone's gang on some railroad and systematically exploited.

The mortgages were iron-bound loan contracts formulated by the padrone/interpreters. They stipulated that the laborer had obligated himself to migrate to the United States and to enter the padrone's service there. A copy of the translation of a contract secured from Greece is reproduced here³ from Seraphic's report. A number of these mortgage contracts were used to convict the Kaplanis brothers of Kansas City, Missouri, for conspiring to violate section 4 of the Immigration Act.

Loan Contract of 600 drachmae

No. 24863

Year 1907.

In New Corinth and in my notarial office, located in the house of Angelike I. Angelopoulou, No. 7 Saviour St., on the 14th day of March, year 1907, on Wednesday after-

³The contract has been copyedited to conform to the *Journal's* spelling and punctuation style. (Eds.)

noon, before me, Gerasimos I. Dasios, duly authorized notary public for Corinth, wherein I reside and hold office, personally appeared as parties of the first part, Stephanos I. Kaplanis, landholder, resident of New Corinth, and known to me, and as parties of the second part, George D. Elenis, Demetrios I. Siachras, and Athanasios Ioan. Siachras, farmers, known to me and residing at Xylokerizes of Xamilia, Corinth, and asked me to draw up this, the present document, by which the party of the first part and the parties of the second part in the presence of the lawful witnesses, Panayoti Katjouli, landholder, resident of old Corinth, and George Skouteri, newspaper agent, resident of New Corinth, known to me, mutually agreed to the following: That the party of the second part, of the contracting parties consisting of George D. Elenis, Demetrios I. Siachras, and Athanasios Ioan. Siachras, being in need of funds so that Demetrios I. Siachras may go to America, borrowed and received from the party of the first part, Stephanos I. Kaplanis, six-hundred drachmae today in cash, some time before this hour, but not in my presence and office, as they have admitted, which they promise and become bound jointly and severally, waiving the right to contend for a division of responsibility to pay to the party of the first part, their creditor, Stephanos I. Kaplanis, at the expiration of six months from date without interest and if not paid then to draw the interest thenceforth of 12 percent per annum until paid, as per agreement between the contracting parties. It was further mutually agreed between the contracting parties that the party of the second part is to pay off the aforesaid loan in the following manner: that Demetrios I. Siachros must, and is hereby bound to go to Kansas City, of America, and there personally labor in the factories of or works of George and Theodore I. Kaplanis, brothers, who reside there: And from this compensation or wages he shall leave every month a sum of money in proportion and keep this up until the payment of the aforesaid loan is completed, receiving from them regular and properly signed receipts attesting the deposit of such monies with the brothers

George and Theodore Kaplanis; otherwise, in the event that the aforesaid debtor does not go to Kansas City of America to enter the service of Kaplanis Brothers, but goes to another place and labors for others, or in the event that the debtor does not go there [to America] at all, then this loan and instrument is to be considered immediately due, and fully in force for an immediate demand before the expiration of the six months' period abovesaid, and, further, the loan of six-hundred drachmae will become not only collectable and subject to an immediate demand, but the interest of 12 percent per annum will commence from the date hereof and continue until paid. And in order to guarantee the payment of these six-hundred drachmae and interest thereof, Georg D. Elenis conveys the right to Stephanos I. Kaplanis to record a first mortgage—waiving the right of being notified of such action—on his following real estate property: (1) On four acres of land newly planted in vines, located at Paliambela, district of Xamilia, municipality of Corinth, surrounded by rocky ground and property of Dem. Liapi. 2) On three acres of land, also newly planted in vines, located at Agio Athanasios, in the same jurisdiction and adjoining the property of K. Louti, Ekaterina Ath. Tsantilla, Theod. Marcello, and rocks. 3) On a three-acre vineyard, located at Magoula, same jurisdiction, and adjoining property of Ath. Demou, Demetr. Leka, N. Nicholopoulo, and a street, which vineyard is also designated by the product taxation number of 1899 as No. 457. 4) On fourteen olive trees, located at Galataki, in Galataki district, municipality of Sofikou, and the land they occupy, which adjoins the property of Ath. Kolo-pasta, N. Markellou, A. Anagnostopoulo, and a river. 5) On five other olive trees, including the land, located at Armyre, in same jurisdiction and municipality, a little above the church and adjoining the property of G. Daniel and I. Files. 6) One olive tree of great age, near the church of Armyre and on the farm of Anas. Dante; the mortgages recorded on the above property shall be in full force and effect until this, the present document, is cancelled. All of the above terms and stipulations having been

stated and accepted by the contracting parties, this present document drawn up, which having been duly read within hearing of all concerned and affirmed, was signed by all, save by George D. Elenis, who duly declared his illiteracy.

The contracting parties:

Athan. I. Siachras.

Dem. Siachras.

Stef. Kaplanis.

The witnesses:

P. Katsoulis,

George S. Kouteris.

The notary:

G. I. Dasios

Copy issued for use by the authorities in the prosecuting attorneys' offices in conformity to their order No. 6683.
New Corinth, Sept. 21, 1909.

The notary for Corinth:

(Seal)

G. I. Dasios

I certify that the above is the signature of Mr. Gerassimos Dasios, official notary public at Corinth, Greece.
Washington, April 4th, 1910

The Minister of Greece:

(Seal of the Greek Legation)

L. A. Coromilas

The immigration authorities increased their efforts to wipe out this evil, and whenever they had evidence that Greek arrivals were destined to become victims of such exploitation, they hindered their entrance. Thus, in 1903, 111 Greeks who had ties with the padrones established in America were barred, and in 1906 the number of rejections for the same reason reached 432. Contributing especially to limit this inhuman system was the ten-year research conducted for the Immigration Bureau by Alcibiades Sarafis (Seraphic), who understood the evils this exploitation would lead to.

Alcibiades Sarafis was born in 1876 in Macris, in Asia Minor.

Having finished Greek high school there, he went to Beirut and studied at the American College. In 1896 he came to America. He repeatedly visited Europe and, in 1936, he went to Greece where he remained a few months and where he donated practically his entire wealth to the city of Athens (one district is named Macris, in honor of his birthplace). He died in 1939 in Naples, Italy. The name Sarafis is linked with one of the most important chapters in the history of Greek migration to America, that dealing with improving the immigrants' lot and limiting their exploitation. The victims of the padrones gradually began to realize they were being exploited, and they finally broke free. They studied at night schools, learned English, and with their honest and hard toil began to prosper within the framework of America's democratic ideals and, thus, contributed to the elevation of the Greek element which now holds such an enviable place in the life of the nation.

The Greek Laborers

Under such terms as those recorded in the Kaplanis contract, many Greeks came to work in America. But even those who had escaped this kind of hired labor were not able to escape being exploited during the early period of their stay in America, when they were willing to make any sacrifice to assure themselves of a livelihood until they could improve their station. These were the laborers who worked in factories and coal mines. During those years, the working conditions in America generally and in the coal mines especially were very different from the present day, particularly for Greeks. Because Greeks did not come from an industrialized nation; because they were, primarily, peasants; and because they had no governmental protection, they became ready victims of exploitation, having no understanding whatsoever of labor rights. They were the blind tools of the bosses to whom they were delivered by agents, interpreters, and the padrones who exploited them; and because they were ignorant of the language and ignorant of their destination, they accepted, however unwillingly, to become the scabs and strikebreakers who replaced the dismissed American laborers who had demanded their

rights, thus inviting the obvious antipathy of the other workers. For this reason, Americans and workers of other nationalities many times fought the employment of Greek laborers or impeded them in many ways, giving them the heaviest and most difficult jobs, which compelled them to stop working. Without workers' consciousness, considering their stay in America only temporary, not waiting to be involved in any way with the labor problems of the country, the Greek laborers never understood why the other workers objected to him, but rather believed that the reason was purely racial. Because of this belief, and because of a need to defend themselves against their conditions, which were very unpleasant at times, they organized their own clubs and associations. Instead of being workers' clubs (though they were made up of laborers), they were nationalistic or Greek "societies," a fact which did not benefit the Greeks at all, either in the factories or among the other workers' unions. But with the passage of time, Greeks began of necessity to follow the labor movement and finally became active in it with the guidance of capable leaders who tended to appear in such moments and who came from among them; and it was then that the Greek workers assumed a role in the unions in which they were destined to be very active and, in one case, during the historical Colorado strike, played a leading part in the labor movement of America. Because the events in Colorado are so important for the history of the Greek worker and gives an idea of the conditions under which he lived, and since the Greek experience in Colorado constitutes a part of the whole picture of Greek immigration, it is worth describing the details of those events which were gleaned from the newspapers of the time.

The Coal Mines of Colorado

A total of about 800 Greek workers, primarily from Mytilene, Crete, and other Turkish-occupied areas, were employed in the coal mines of Trinidad and Ludlow in southern Colorado when, at the turn of the century (from 1900 to 1903), thousands of laborers, among them Italians, Croats, Mexicans, Montenegrans, Austrians, and other nationalities were employed in the state's

mines, and when their struggle for the improvement of their lot began. At that time in Colorado, the mines belonged to companies which, in fact, constituted a "state within a state." The towns in which the coal miners lived were company property; and the companies maintained their own police for the "maintenance of law and order." The workers' dwellings, the shops from which they purchased their necessities, and even the post offices in the area were under company jurisdiction. The only places for relaxation were the saloons, whose proprietors paid to the company rent which varied according to the number of laborers working in the local mine. Three large companies, Colorado Fuel and Iron, Rocky Mountain Fuel, and Victor American Fuel, produced 68 percent of the total coal yield of Colorado in those years, and they fixed wages and work hours according to their needs. The smaller companies were compelled to follow suit. Colorado Fuel and Iron produced 40 percent of Colorado's coal yield. Its largest shareholder was the multi-millionaire John D. Rockefeller, who controlled 40 percent of the stock but who, in reality, had absolute control over the entire coal industry of Colorado.

The miners did not receive a standard daily wage, but were paid on the basis of personal yield, that is, so many dollars a ton, washed and delivered to the cars in front of the mine. The companies computed that, on the average, the miner earned five dollars a day, a substantial sum for those times. But they omitted to add that the coal miners of Colorado worked on the average of 191 days per year, and that the average daily wage of unwashed coal was \$2.12. The workers often earned less. Furthermore, the miners paid \$1.00 per month for medical treatment; but the doctor would make his rounds fortnightly, in the mines and the lodgings of the miners, and if any treatment was required, the miners were forced to pay specially. In the case of a broken arm or leg, miners paid \$10.00 or more for a doctor and treatment. The rent on the unhealthy and dilapidated abodes, which were company property, was between \$2.50 and \$3.00 per month for a room, and often the charges for lighting and water were extra. The miners were compelled to pay a month's rent in advance when they were hired, and they could not draw a penny of their salary from the sweat of their labor until rent and other expenses incurred at the company stores were paid. Unmarried miners lived

in the company "hotels" and paid between \$28.00 to \$30.00 per month (in advance) for food and lodging. The workers had to buy their own tools and their own dynamite—in cash. They also were compelled to pay, in advance, about \$.50 per month for the pastor, whether they attended church or not, and another \$.50 for the public shool. Another prepaid item was their tool sharpeners. If they needed clothes, sheets, or other items, and if they had no credit, the company would give them "script" money for the store, which was owned by the company. The prices at the store were at least 25 percent higher than average. And workers who had immediate need of funds could cash this script money, at a loss of 10 percent, in the saloon or in the company lodgings.

The first strike took place in 1902, when Eugene Debs organized the labor movement across the entire country. The strikes of 1903 and 1904 followed when John Mitchell, leader of the United Mine Workers of America, called upon the miners to abandon their jobs and organize. The United Mine Workers Union was not active in Colorado after the large strike of 1903. However, in 1911 it opened an office again in Trinidad, and when it was rumored that the workers were going on strike, companies began to comply with some aspects of the law, but did not meet the reasonable demands of the miners, who realized that only through Union and Company negotiations would they acquire humane working conditions. The union tried every means to avoid calling a strike. It appealed to Ammons, the state governor, to call a meeting between representatives of both factions to discuss the miners' demands. But the companies categorically rejected the Union suggestion and began to prepare a systematic campaign against the workers. Company agents began mobilizing strikebreakers and scabs, and "guards," former police and, in some cases, criminals were prepared to murder workers who insisted on their rights. The companies also cooperated with the Baldwin-Felts private detective agency, which specialized in hiring strikebreakers, many of whom had murder trials pending in other states. This uneasy situation lasted for years until, finally, in September 1913, the great strike was called in the Ludlow coal mines. It was at Ludlow that Greeks played an outstanding part; its sequel was the bloody events of Easter, 1914.

The Strike

The decision to strike was made on September 16, 1913, at a general meeting of the miners in Trinidad, and the workers of Ludlow began striking on September 22. According to the Congressional report on industrial relations,* the demands of the strikers were, roughly, as follows:

- 1) recognition of the strikers union;
- 2) increase of 10 percent in wages and a leveling of the miners' conditions in Colorado with those of Wyoming;
- 3) an 8-hour work day for all branches of the industry;
- 4) compensation for all kinds of work, that is, abolition of forced labor which employer in actuality, was perpetrated in various forms;
- 5) the right of the coal miners to select the weighers of the coal yield without employer interference;
- 6) the right of the workers to purchase their necessities from wherever they wished, and the right of workers to have their own lodgings;
- 7) faithful application of the state of Colorado's miners laws, which were not adhered to except when it was in the interests of the employers; and abolition of the private police, that is, the hired guards in the service of the employers.

As the well-known reporter of the time, John Reed, wrote, the strikers did not have revolutionary ideas. They were neither socialists, nor anarchists, nor syndicalists. They did not seek to possess the mines or to bring radical changes to the wage system. Although they were not content with the conditions under which they worked, they still respected their bosses. But their patience had limits, and they had reached such a stage of hopeless wretchedness they did not know what else to do. Most of them had come to America with the dream of finding the good which was

*United States Congress: Committee on Mines and Mining of the House of Representatives, (House 63:3); *Report on the Colorado Strike Investigation Made Under Resolution 387*, Washington, D.C., 1915.

symbolized by the Statue of Liberty in New York's harbor. They had come from countries where the law was respected as something sacrosanct, and they believed that in America they would find better laws which they would anxiously obey. But the first thing they discovered was that their employers, in whom they had had complete faith, shamelessly violated the laws.

Their organization into labor unions gave them back that first promise of emancipation and of a better life. They saw that only through the union would they be able to force their employers to pay them decent daily wages and to work under conditions less dangerous to their lives. Many of the strikers of 1913-14 had come to the Colorado mines as scabs during the 1903 strike. At that time, more than 70 percent of the coal miners in southern Colorado were native Americans, English, Scottish, and Welsh. Their demands were very similar to those of the strikers in 1913. The national guards and the mines' guards killed, jailed, and ejected from the state hundreds of strikers whose only crime was that they sought to improve their lot. Two years before the 1903 strike, 6,000 miners were dismissed as undesirables by their employers because they dared join the union. Although the law stated that the working day was eight hours, no miner worked less than ten. When the employers broke the strike of 1903, they barred 10,000 workers from the mines—those laborers who asked that the laws be respected and their rights recognized. The employers carefully studied the attitudes of miners from various nationalities and selected those who showed greater submissiveness and who were more apt to suffer silently the violations of the law. The employers strove to send to every mine laborers of different nationalities, the majority of whom did not understand English, so that a union would be more difficult to organize. In both the mines and the camps, armed guards had the right to whimsically seize, try whimsically and punish any worker.

As decided, the strikers of 1913 were to live in tents supplied by the union. They were prepared to resist the attacks of company agents who had some twenty machine guns and an abundant supply of guns at their disposal. Snow had already begun to fall when, on September 23, the miners refused to work. The guards gave them short notice to evacuate their lodgings, which belonged to the companies. Of the 13,000 coal miners who were employed

in Colorado, 11,000 went on strike. The workers pitched their tents along the ravine which led to the mines so that they could watch the streets through which the strikebreakers passed. The largest camp was at Ludlow, but there were others at nearby points. Mother Jones, the tireless eighty-year-old friend of the miners, went from camp to camp to speak to the strikers and their families and to assist them in any way possible. Meanwhile, the companies called upon the state governor to dispatch the national guard to protect their properties. Governor Ammons replied that he would send the guard on the condition that the companies not use the troops to threaten the strikers or to gather strikebreakers.

At the Ludlow camp, there were some 1,200 persons of twenty-one different nationalities. Within a short time, all friction disappeared between the numerous racial groups. And before the week was over from the time the Ludlow camp was established the company thugs began threatening to come down and wipe out the strikers and their families. The visits by the women, the games, and the dancing came to a halt. The coal miners became tense. With the few weapons they had at their disposal, the strikers guarded their tents, while on a neighboring hill a searchlight belonging to the company followed every move in the camp.

During the day the strikers stopped the vehicles heading for the mines. Whenever they found scabbing workers, they would explain the situation and lead them to their tents or send them back from whence they came. In the meantime, any striker who attempted to go to his former lodging to gather his clothing or bedding or other possessions, which he had not time to take with him when given notice to vacate the area, was beaten mercilessly by the guards. The same thing occurred to those who went to the post office (which was in the mining area) to collect the mail. This situation kept the strikers and their families in a perpetual nervous state, and it became obvious that the employers' agents sought any excuse to attack the workers. Hostile acts took place on October 7, 1913, and then daily classes became more and more bloody. The strikers, however, believed in the justice of their struggle and were determined to fight to the end, even if they were outnumbered and outarmed. On October 31, the national guard arrived under the command of General Jays. The

general informed the strikers that Governor Ammons had ordered that both factions be disarmed, with the assurance that the national guard would not threaten the strikers nor assist the employers in bringing in strike breakers. The leaders of the miners announced these promises to the strikers, who willingly complied with the measure and received the national guardsmen with much enthusiasm.

But as John Reed pointed out in his article,* the national guard of an industrialized state differed considerably from the national guard of other states. Its work was to protect the properties of the employers. In actuality, however, it was used to break strikes, a harsh and unscrupulous duty which required harsh and unscrupulous men. Most of the national guards were, of course, respectable. But there were career guardsmen who were inclined to follow all orders without asking any questions, so long as they were well paid. The officers of the national guard usually were mercenary adventurers, former career soldiers, or policemen who derived satisfaction from killing. General Jays, who was in command of Colorado's national guard, had played a disgusting part in the previous strike, and he had been accused of perjury. Major Hamrock, saloonkeeper of Denver, was a small-time politician. Lieutenant Linderfelt had served as a guard at the mines and had taken part in many clashes with strikers.

The national guards showed impartiality at first, but later began to intimidate the strikers. An account of \$1,000,000, opened by the Denver Bank for the payment of the guardsmen, had an important bearing on this new attitude. The ire of the guardsmen turned especially against the Greek strikers and their leader, Louis Tikas, a modest and brave man from Rethymno, Crete, and a graduate of Athens University who was much liked by all the strikers. Linderfelt repeatedly sought pretexts to murder him and on December 31 seized him and kept him in jail for weeks without cause. The winter passed with successive and similar incidents. On April 19, 1914, the fifty Greeks of Ludlow camp were celebrating their Easter. The national guardsmen, along with the other company agents, selected that day to spread fear among the strikers. They attempted to halt the dancing and the games of the Greek workers, in which other nationalities also participated.

*"The Colorado War," *Metropolitan Magazine*, July, 1914, Vol. XL, No. 3.

During the night, the guardsmen's movements made it clear that something serious was in the making.

Tragic Events

At 8:45 on Monday morning, April 20, the guardsmen who had halted the previous day's baseball game appeared in the camp. They came, they said, to look for a laborer held by the strikers against his will. Tikas went to see what they wanted. He assured them that no such laborer was to be found in the camp. The guardsmen insisted and, calling Tikas a liar, said they would return with an entire detachment to conduct a search. Shortly after, that Major Hamrock called Tikas by telephone and ordered him to report to his office. Tikas replied that he would meet the major at the railroad station between the strikers' camp and the encampment of the guardsmen. When Tikas arrived, he noticed the guardsmen were fastening their munition belts, and that a fighting atmosphere pervaded their ranks. He also noticed that machine guns had been placed directly above the tents of the strikers. Suddenly, a bomb exploded in the guardsmen's camp.

Meanwhile, the strikers had sighted the machine guns and heard the bomb go off. When Tikas reached the railway station, he saw some forty seven strikers leaving the camp and heading for the neighboring stream. "Major! What's the meaning of all this?" Tikas called to Hamrock, who appeared very nervous. "Ask your men to return and I will withdraw my men too," Hamrock replied. "Yes, but my men are doing nothing," Tikas had said. "They're simply afraid of your machine guns." Hamrock again shouted to Tikas to order his men to return to their tents. Tikas then began to run toward the tents, waving a white flag and shouting for his strikers to return. A second bomb exploded at that moment. He was halfway there when the strikers halted, and a third bomb went off. Suddenly, without warning, the machine guns opened fire on the tents, which contained the women and children. The massacre was premeditated and merciless. The orders given to the guardsmen in effect were that no one was to be left alive in Ludlow camp. Although Major Hamrock was the senior officer, that day Linderfelt was the officer in charge, and

he was deservedly known for his barbarous instincts. He had tried very hard to entrap Tikas. The three bombs were the signal for the mines' guards, the scabs, and the private police of the Baldwin-Felts agency to come down from the neighboring hills for the attack. They numbered some 400 men.

The strikers and their families had been in their tents late that morning. Many of the women and children were still in bed when the bullets rained down on them. In the panic which ensued, some women came out into the open, while others sought shelter in the wells and trenches that had been dug beneath the tents. The small group of armed strikers, viewing the terrible slaughter of defenseless women and children, attempted to return to the camp, but the rain of bullets from the guardsmen barred their advance. The mines' guards also began throwing explosive charges.

Tikas returned to the camp and tried to save as many as had survived. Together with the wife of an American striker, Mrs. Jolly, the head of the Italian faction, Bernando, and the Slav leader, Domeniski, he carried water, food, and bandages to the women and children who were sheltered in the underground trenches. No one in the camp was armed; thus, the machine gun fire was not returned. Around 7:30 that evening, a guardsman approached the tents, poured gasoline over one of them and put a match to it. Soon the entire camp was in ashes. While the children and women tried to escape from the tents, the national guards opened fire on them. As the conflagration spread, Mrs. Jolly went from tent to tent, dragging out the women and children who had hidden below in the trenches. Suddenly she remembered that beneath another tent, the wife of an Italian striker and her three children had taken refuge. She was ready to head for the tent, but Tikas stopped her. "Let me bring them out," he said, proceeding toward the flames. The national guardsmen then seized him. He tried to explain where he was going, but, as John Reed reported, they were so bloodthirsty that they had no wish to listen to what he was saying. Lieutenant Linderfelt broke the butt of his rifle over Tikas's head, while fifty guardsmen tried to hang him. Linderfelt, however, cynically placed Tikas in charge of two guardsmen, whom he held responsible for his life. Five minutes later, Louis Tikas fell dead with three bullets in his back,

while from the cellar of the Italian's wife the burned bodies of thirteen women and children were dragged out. Another Greek who fell from the bullets of the guardsmen was H. Kostas, one of the strikers who had left the camp when it became apparent that the guardsmen were going to attack. Kostas was struck by a bullet in the head. Even while dying, and with a smile on his lips, he gave courage to his companions by singing the strikers' song:

We've whipped them in the North, boys,
We'll whip them in the South,
Singing . . .

And while he was breathing his last, the charred bodies of his wife and children were being brought out of the Italian's underground trench.

The barbarous massacre at Ludlow aroused the anger of America's public. For days newspapers published lengthy descriptions of the terrible crime. A detailed account of Tikas's murder was published in the *New York World* on May 5 by a personal witness, Godfrey Erwin, an electrical engineer at Trinidad. The newspaper *Rocky Mountain News* of Denver, which until then had attacked the strikers, published a violent article on April 22 against the employers, entitled "The Massacre of Innocents," in which it branded "the horror of the slaughter of Ludlow" and the greed of those who armed the civil guards. Public opinion in New York was vigorously indignant. Writers and intellectuals, among them Upton Sinclair, picketed Rockefeller's offices. Under public pressure, President Wilson ordered an investigation on the spot by a Congressional committee. Three members of the committee, Representatives M.D. Foster, John M. Evans, and Howard Sutherland, unreservedly condemned the employers and Rockefeller by name in their investigation. Representative Byrnes, eventually Secretary of State, and Austin submitted separated reports.

The memory of this tragedy gradually faded with the passage of time. But in the history of the American labor movement, Louis Tikas stands out as a symbol of sacrifice.

Propaganda in the Greek-American Community

(from the John Poulos Collection)

Introduction

The material that follows is excerpted from *Propaganda in the Greek-American Community*, by Constantine G. Yavis. The report was prepared by the Department of Justice and published on April 12, 1944 for use by various governmental agencies. This research appears to be part of a series on various ethnic groups whose loyalty to the United States was of concern due to war-related issues. There is, for example, a series of notes on the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church that stresses how often Greece is referred to as "the fatherland" and as "the mother." The full text of this report is available in the John Poulos Collection, Tamiment Library, New York University.

—Dan Georgakas

[The *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* has retained the original spelling and punctuation found in *Propaganda in the Greek-American Community*. The "Table of Contents" has been faithfully reproduced to give the reader an idea of how extensive the report was.]

PROPAGANDA IN THE GREEK-AMERICAN COMMUNITY

By CONSTANTINE G. YAVIS
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DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

April 21, 1944

FOREWORD

The present memorandum aims to give a rounded picture of the Greek-American community in the United States. Emphasis is placed on organizations, and on propaganda which affects the assimilation of the Greek-American community and its internal harmony, or which promotes loyalty to Greece and blind support of Greek post-war aspirations.

Only passing mention is made of the propaganda which also reaches the general American public, such as propaganda in support of blood donations, War Bond drives, Women's Army Corps enlistment, and American political parties. It must be remembered that this "general American" propaganda far outweighs the former type of propaganda in quantity and in effectiveness. The excessive attachment to Greece would cause concern, were it not destined to vanish with the passing of the immigrant group.

It is hoped this memorandum will be useful to governmental agencies dealing with Greek and Greek-American problems. Far more useful would be a comprehensive study of all national groups in the United States. In such a study the methods adopted by the American generation for the perpetuation of the distinct cultural groups would be of particular interest.

The following persons, who have particular competence in the Greek field, read a draft of this memorandum, and generously offered suggestions and additional information: Foy D. Kohler of the Department of State, Charilaos Lagoudakis and Constantine Poulos of the Office of War Information, and Milton V. Anastos of the Office of Strategic Services.

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III. THE GREEK CHURCH

Organization

Practically all Greek-Americans are of the Eastern Orthodox confession and belong to the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America, also called the Greek Orthodox Church of America. Since 1931, it has been headed by The Most Reverend Archbishop Athenagoras in New York, New York, an American citizen. The Archdiocese comprises four Greek dioceses which have 289 churches, of which 275 are in the United States, and 295 priests [Greek Theological Seminary, 1943 *Annual*, pp. 151-165]. The *Orthodoxos Parateretis* (Orthodox Observer) is published monthly by the Archdiocese.

In 1936 the Greek Archdiocese claimed 189,368 church members in the United States; 222 church edifices; 129 Sunday schools with 824 teachers and 13,553 pupils; 64 week-day religious schools; and 138 parochial schools with 500 teachers and 12,250 pupils (Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies*: 1936, II 1, p. 567).

The first Greek bishop in America was appointed in 1918 by the synod of Greece. In 1922 the jurisdiction of the Greek church in America was taken over by the Patriarch of Constantinople by the synodical and patriarchal act known as the Founding Tome of 1922 [*Religious Bodies* II 1, pp. 572 f]. The legislative body of the Archdiocese is a biennial Congress consisting of the pastor and one lay delegate from each parish. Acts of the Congress are subject to approval by the Patriarch.

The Greek Archdiocese is only one of the comparatively numerous Orthodox dioceses or archdioceses of the America, such as the Rumanian, Albanian, Ukrainian dioceses, et cetera. Of these, some are autonomous, others are governed by the synod of the mother country, and two, the Ukrainian and Carpatho-Russian, are governed by the Patriarch of Constantinople through the Greek Archbishop in New York. The former has 53 churches and the latter 51 churches [1943 *Annual of the Theological Seminary*, pp. 167-194].

The budget of the Archdiocese amounted to \$93,000 in 1936, and has since increased. Perhaps indicative of dependence of the Archdiocese on the Greek government is the financial aid provided by the latter: in 1936 the Title Guaranty and Trust Company held a first mortgage of \$13,275 on property of the Archdiocese valued at \$25,008.25, and in addition the Hellenic Bank and Trust Company of New York City, a subsidiary of the National Bank of Greece, held a second and third mortgage on the same property totalling \$31,000 ["Statement of Expenses of 1936 and Budget of 1937 of the Greek Archdiocese of America," May 1, 1937. The mortgages are actually said to be held by the National Bank of Greece].

There are, besides, several anticanonical Greek groups, which are not recognized by the Patriarch of Constantinople because of administrative insubordination. These may total about 20 priests with a smaller number of congregations, two or three bishops, and an archbishop. With rare exceptions (cf. *Hellas* of Chicago, 12/43, p. 31), the anticanonical groups have been ignored by the Greek-language press. They have little importance and are not further dealt with here.

The Greek Church of America is the prime organizer and coordinator of the Greek communities in America. The fundamental organization in each locality is the Greek Church, and there is scarcely a locality with 10 or 15 families that has not organized a congregation, if not a church. Each church has a priest, usually a Ladies' Aid Society, Sunday school, and a part-time parochial school.

Parochial Schools

Most churches operate part-time parochial schools, which are attended by children of primary and secondary school age several afternoons a week. Instruction is entirely in Greek and relates to religion and Greek language and history. Catechism is taught in special Sunday school classes in the

better organized churches. The guiding principles of instruction in the parochial schools are stated in the Appendix, items 1 and 2. The schools operate under the supervision of the Supreme Educational Council which has three clerical members and eight lay members, including the Inspector of Schools [1941 *Annual*, p. 40, 1943 *Annual*, p. 146].

One of the official posts in the Greek Ministry of Religion and National Education in 1939 and 1940 was that of Inspector of Greek Schools in America. This post was occupied by Herakles Papamanolis, who at the same time was Inspector General of the Schools of the Archdiocese. Papamanolis in a statement to the press on August 25, 1939, declared that the church schools in America are "destined to preserve the national sentiment in Greek children born or reared in a foreign country."

Most of the teachers are drawn from the ranks of Greeks established in the United States and from the Greek priests here. Some teachers, however, in these schools in 1940 were teachers of the Greek public school system on leave. The special provisions for granting these teachers leave of absence are discussed above, p. 11.

Youth Clubs

About 1938 the Archdiocese for a time endeavored to create a youth organization with branches at every church. It is reported to have organized the *Ethniki Orthodoxos Neolaia* (National Orthodox Youth) which was known by the name EON. This, however, was the name of the highly controversial fascist youth organization of the Metaxas regime in Greece. Because of the outcry against this name it was changed to GOYA, Greek Orthodox Youth Association. This was later changed to HOYA (Hellenic instead of Greek) for the sake of euphony. It is reported that the official organizer of the movement, with headquarters at the theological seminary, was a certain Athanasatos. It is further reported that Bishop Athenagoras of Boston dismissed Athanasatos because he proposed to send to the chapters a circular in English. The movement has in the meanwhile been allowed to lapse, although at least two chapters are extant [1943 *Annual* of the Theological Seminary, pp. 290-295].

The Theological Seminary

Until 1937 all priests of the Greek Orthodox Church and teachers in the parochial schools had come to the United States from Greece. In that year, however, the Greek Archdiocese founded its own theological seminary at Pomfret, Connecticut, to train priests from persons who were born in America and had completed American high schools. The original plan provided that the theological students would study two years at the seminary and then would continue their studies in Greece four or five years. Since the outbreak of the war, however, the seminary has expanded

its course to five years. In 1942-43 the seminary had 84 students and 12 instructors [1943 *Annual*, p. 38]. The first crop were fourteen graduates in 1943. The training given at the seminary is almost entirely in Greek and is said to be strongly Greek nationalistic, and allegation supported fully by the evidence in its *Annals*. About 100,000 books were printed at the seminary in 1942, most of them for use by the parochial schools.

If the students of this seminary continue after the war to receive all their instruction in the United States, the seminary may represent a step forward toward an independent Greek cultural center in our own country, not bound to Greece. But for the present the faculty of the seminary are said to be among the most ardent Greek nationalists.

The Orthodox Federation

In August, 1943 the Greek Archdiocese took the initiative in forming the Federated Orthodox Greek Catholic Primary Jurisdiction, incorporated under the New York State law. This included the Greek, Syrian, Ukrainian, Russian, and Serbian dioceses which are brought together only for the purpose of united action in matters regarding the Orthodox Church. Other dioceses are expected to join in the near future. Although the Federation does not appear now to have authority over the component dioceses, nevertheless it may be the forerunner of a single American Orthodox Church encompassing the two to four million Orthodox Christians in America. Greek church leaders hope to be the preponderant element in such an American Orthodox Church because of the position now occupied by the Greek Archbishop as representative of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and because of the traditional Greek primacy in the Church.

Creation of Panhellenic Loyalty by the Church

During the centuries of Turkish rule of Greece the two nations were distinguished on the basis of religion, and the Patriarch at Constantinople was considered the representative of the oppressed Christian peoples, especially of the Greeks. Since then, the Greek Orthodox Church has been the guardian and champion of Greek nationalism. With regard to Greeks abroad, the Greek Orthodox Church conceives its mission not only to sustain their religious sentiment, but also to maintain the Greek national sentiment, and, as adjuncts thereto, to maintain the Greek language, the Greek cultural heritage, and the racial purity of expatriated groups. Inter-marriage and proselytizing are, accordingly, discouraged.

In the United States, too, the clergy have attempted to promote Panhellenic loyalty in sermons, school celebrations, etc., though with decreasing vigor in the face of cold indifference or opposition by the American generation. Their efforts, however, do at least foster strong group consciousness. A full analysis of the means by which the Greek Church in

America seeks the above-named purpose could be made only on the basis of a tedious and expensive examination of acts and utterances of numerous leaders of the Church. The analyst, however, does not hesitate to declare categorically that in the Greek community it is universally accepted that the Greek Church does seek to create Panhellenic loyalty. This meets with the approval of only a small part of the older generation.

The section following provides specific examples of the ideology of the Archdiocese. To the items listed there, one example is here added. No English books are known to be included in the books printed by the Archdiocese.* In 1940 the Sons of Pericles, the junior order of Ahepa, published a booklet containing the Church liturgy with an English translation and explanations in English. This booklet is virtually the only source from which those who do not know Greek can gain an understanding of the Greek Church services. A second edition of this booklet is to appear in 1944. The theological seminary, however, expressed disapproval, on the ground that through publications which obviated the necessity of learning Greek, the Sons of Pericles were in danger of becoming the "grave-diggers" of the Greek language in America [letter in the files of the Sons of Pericles, seen by the analyst]. It may be further added that several priests are alleged to have been ordered by the Archbishop to discontinue using English in their sermons.

The plan of the Archdiocese to create Panhellenic sentiment and Panhellenic loyalty is naturally in accord with the desires of the Greek State, and naturally predisposes the Archdiocese to become an agent of the Greek government. Three examples of cooperation of the Greek government with the Archdiocese can be cited. The priests who come from Greece must come with the approval not only of the Church of Greece, but also of the Greek State, since the Greek Ministry of National Education and Religion exercises effective control over the church of Greece. Parochial teachers under oath to the Greek government are reliably reported to have been accepted by Greek schools in the United States, obviously parochial schools. And finally, as mentioned above, the Inspector General of the Parochial Schools was at the same time an official of the Greek Ministry of Education and Religion.

Ideology as Exemplified in Publications

An examination of four volumes of official publications of the Archdiocese discloses various facets of the ideology generally preached by the Archdiocese. The Appendix provides illustrative quotations. The chief ideas propounded are the following:

*In the middle of January, 1944, publication of a pamphlet of prayers in English and Greek for soldiers was announced. This had appeared by the end of March.

- a. Greece is considered the mother country or the homeland of Greeks in America. Greece is generally called "our *patris* [country, fatherland]." The earth of Greece is holy [1943 *Annual* of the Greek Theological Seminary, pp. 10, 12, 13, 68 f, 91, 67; 1942 *Annual*, pp. 3, 6, 119, 121, 145 f, 152; 1941 *Annual*, p. 73].
- b. Greek national consciousness must be preserved abroad [1943 *Annual*, p. 141, 1942 *Annual*, pp. 3 f].
- c. "Greeks" everywhere form a single national unit which is visibly held together by Greek Orthodox religion with the Ecumenical Patriarch at its head. The Patriarch in that respect succeeds the Byzantine Emperors [1942 *Annual*, pp. 7-9].
- d. Greeks in America must preserve the Greek language at all costs [1943 *Annual*, p. 141; 1942 *Annual*, p. 3 f].
- e. Greeks must retain their individual identity and not become assimilated [1942 *Annual*, pp. 7-9; 1941 *Annual*, pp. 7 f; *Analytical Program of the Greek Schools of the Archdiocese of North and South America*, 1935, p. 7].
- f. Greeks in America are called children of Greece. Greeks in Greece are called "our brothers" [1943 *Annual*, p. 13, 1942 *Annual*, pp. 3 f].
- g. The mission of the Church is both religious and national; national always means Greek [1943 *Annual*, pp. 57, 66, 87; 1942 *Annual*, p. 118].
- h. The Orthodox Church is identified with the Greek race [1943 *Annual*, p. 51; 1942 *Annual*, p. 152; 1941 *Annual*, pp. 108 f, 152].
- i. Friendly contacts are maintained with the Greek diplomatic representatives and officials of the Greek government. They are invited to celebrations at the seminary, they presented a Greek flag to the seminary, and the Greek ambassador is honorary chairman of the board of directors [1943 *Annual*, pp. 45 f, 148; 1942 *Annual*, p. 119].
- j. In the four volumes examined not once is it made clear that primary loyalty is due America, nor that Greeks in America are part of the American nation. Rather, Greeks are said to be expatriates in America [1943 *Annual*, p. 141, p. 13; 1942 *Annual*, pp. 118, 122 and 139].

Appendix

1. *Analytic Program of the Greek Schools of the Archdiocese of North and South America*, p. 4.

"If you are able to make the Greek language an instrument of the expression of the ideas, thoughts, and feelings of the younger generation, history will deservedly and justly award you the highest honor, that you were GREEK TEACHERS IN AMERICA."

2. *Analytic Program*, etc. p. 40.

"... the purpose of our school . . . in summary is: the children should speak and discuss [in Greek] easily. They should love Greece and the Orthodox Church. They should consider themselves an undetachable part of our racial group, to continue our Greek Orthodox community life."

3. *1941 Annual of the Greek Theological Seminary*, p. 7.

"We are first of all a distinct race in the world. We have no close relation with any other people and consequently, like the Jews, are less subject to the danger of becoming assimilated with a more numerous people, if we do not wish."

4. *1941 Annual*, pp. 8 f.

"Our religious history shows us that the Ecumenical Patriarch [of Constantinople] . . . is for us Orthodox Greeks, wherever we are, just what Jerusalem and the temple of Jehovah was and is for the Jews, whether of Judea or of the Diaspora. . . .

"When the last Greek Emperor fell as a representative of the existence of our nation as a state, we were not lost as a nation, because almost immediately the Patriarch of the Greeks was proclaimed his successor as representative of our national existence.

"Of course, we do not expect the Ecumenical Patriarch to be considered the controller of all the inside and outside life of the Greek race and of Greeks abroad. I believe, however, that the Ecumenical Patriarch must become the sacred symbol of the unity of Greeks wherever in the world they are. In matters that, naturally, the political contests in the free Greek state and the personal interests and ambitions that are usually connected with them divide the Greeks, the Ecumenical Patriarch, being outside of these quarrels, will be our unbreakable bond as Greeks. But much more, he will be the connecting bond of expatriate (apodemotes) Greeks in America, Africa, Australia, and of the rest of Europe, who will not be headless (leaderless) where the authority of the Greek state is prohibited; we shall have as visible head worthy of high respect and confidence the Ecumenical Patriarch, and under him the expressions of our national consciousness and of our religious life will be combined harmoniously."

5. *1942 Annual*, p. 3

"Dedication: Our Dear Country (Fatherland), Greece."

Wonder and admiration is expressed in exaggerated terms for the glorious stand made by "our brothers" against the Axis (The 1943 edition is dedicated to "America").

6. p. 7

"Thus we are able to remain a free, pure Greek group until the blessed day of the resurrection of our Fatherland, at which time it will again become the source and center of national life of all Greeks."

7. pp. 8 f.
 "We have as visible head worthy of full respect and full confidence the Ecumenical Patriarchate and under it the expression of our national consciousness will be harmoniously combined with our religious consciousness, until the King of the Greek state again is upon his royal throne in the capital of a Free Greek kingdom and [the expression] of all our religious life will be combined as long as a Greek Orthodox Church exists."
8. p. 115
 From a description of commencement: ". . . the representative of our mother country, his excellency, Ambassador Diamantopoulos . . ." The Consul General also spoke.
9. pp. 116-118
 "Our little Greece in America . . . emigrant Greeks . . . the official representative of our country (fatherland)."
10. pp. 139 f.
 Preservation of Greek language is advocated.
11. pp. 144, 145, 151, and 152
 "Our fatherland Greece": six times.
12. pp. 10-13
 "Our mother Greece": three times. The Greek consul in New England and the Greek Ministers of Education and Merchant Marine attended graduation exercises at the Seminary.
13. p. 120
 "[The Archbishop] desiring, so to speak, to show in fact and clearly the especial position that the seminary has and is destined to occupy in the total of our national-religious ideology, proclaimed in accordance with the desire of the governing board His Excellency, our ambassador, as honorary president of the board of directors of the seminary. Thus, he officially performed the betrothal of the purpose of the seminary with our great national aim."
14. p. 143
 "Belonging to the younger generation . . . with our shortcomings, but also with pure Greek blood in our veins, we believe in the Greek race. We believe in the high idea 'Greece' and in everything beautiful and high that it represents. We believe in her great present-day and eternal ideals."
15. 1943 *Annual*
 p. 66
 "This seminary does not prepare wage-earners, but ministers of the Almighty and initiates in our ecclesiastic-racial ideology."
16. p. 67
 "The holy ground of our country (fatherland), Greece."
17. p. 68
 In reference to the Greek officials present: "The representative of

our brave country, Greece, our dear country (fatherland)."

18. p. 87

"Our archdiocese is not only our religious center but also our national center because it shelters under its wings the Greek school. . . . And the holy clergy are the holy torchbearers on the path of our church and race."

IV. NATIONAL FRATERNAL SOCIETIES

Ahepa

The largest fraternal organization in America is the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association, called Ahepa from the initials of the full name. Its membership is said to be about 20,000. It has, in addition, a women's auxiliary, the Daughters of Penelope, a men's junior auxiliary, the Sons of Pericles, and a women's junior auxiliary, the Maids of Athens. Headquarters are in Washington, D.C. Ahepa has 318 chapters, approximately as many chapters as there are Greek churches in America.

Ahepa was founded in 1922-1923 with the purpose of aiding Greek-American immigrants achieve adjustment and assimilation in American life. Ahepa claims that it combatted discrimination against Greeks in the South and West, which at its founding was taking serious proportions [*Ahepa Messenger*, 2/15/44]. Ahepa's primary aim is to develop loyalty to the United States and to aid its members to learn English. Meetings are conducted one half in English and one half in Greek. Members must be American citizens [Letter from Dean Alfange, Supreme President, to local chapters, 3/19/29].

Ahepa has also taken measures looking toward the general advancement of the Greek cultural group. The last national convention, held in September of 1942, voted to seek the following: to have Orthodox chaplains visit the Greek soldiers in the various camps, to help small children in Greece, and to collect clothing to be sent to Greece. It also voted to contribute \$2,000 to the Greek theological seminary in Connecticut, bringing its total contributions to \$11,500. Ahepa also published a series of educational pamphlets.

In 1942 Ahepa sponsored the founding of the American Pan-Hellenic Federation which was to become the roof organization of all Greek societies in America. Ahepa is reported to have opposed the formation of a Greek battalion in the United States Army believing that it would be used to return the present government-in-exile to Greece [Atlantis, 1/9/43] against the will of the Greek people.

On November 28, 1942, the anniversary of the Italian attack on Greece, Ahepa launched a campaign to sell \$50,000,000 worth of War Bonds. The campaign was completed about eight months later and was extended indefinitely with a goal of \$100,000,000. Ahepa feels that this

campaign is the responsibility of the entire Greek community, for it gives proof of the loyalty of all Greek-Americans. The supreme president, who toured the country making speeches in support of the drive, emphasized on at least one occasion that the purchase of War Bonds would protect Greeks in America against intolerance, would aid Greece at the peace conference, and would provide funds for private aid to needy relatives in Greece after the war. The campaign was supported by the liberal *National Herald* [4/30/43, 7/6/43] but did not receive attention from the conservative *Atlantis*. Ahepa also has organized War Service Units for the following activities:

- War Bond Selling
- Civilian Defense
- Hospital Visitations
- American Red Cross Campaigns
- Greek War Relief and National War Chest Campaigns
- Blood Donating
- Preparation of Red Cross Supplies

Beyond the expression of hopes for the restoration of a strong Greece after the war, Ahepa has not become officially involved in discussions regarding Greek political matters. On at least one occasion, however, the official organ, *The Ahepan* [Nov. and Dec., 1943] carried an article stating that the majority of the Greek people do not wish to see King George return to his fascist-tainted throne. Ahepa has declared its support of the Athens World Center Federation, which looks toward making Athens an educational and artistic international center, as well as the seat of a new League of Nations. Ahepa claims to be the first national organization to denounce Nazi persecution of Jews; to support the exchange of old destroyers for British bases; to urge a differentiation between the Italian people and the Fascists, and the first fraternal organization to be designated Issuing Agent for Bonds. On April 26, 1941, the Supreme Lodge passed a resolution advocating universal military training and repeal of the Neutrality Act.

Official organ of the association is *The Ahepan*, a bi-monthly magazine in English, published since 1929. It contains news of the chapters and articles of general interest. It has virtually no political content. The chapters of greater New York publish the *Ahepa Messenger*, a bi-weekly bulletin mostly in English, containing chapter news. It was founded in 1932, and has a circulation of about 1000.

The Greek government's relation with Greek fraternal organizations in America has always been of the closest. The analyst is reliably informed that the Greek ambassador must be acceptable to Ahepa and Gapa. The diplomatic representatives maintain close personal contact with as many Greek organizations as possible, speaking at large gatherings of fraternal organizations, local meetings, and church celebrations such as that of the Greek theological seminary.

Ahepa has organized annual summer excursions to Greece since about

1926. Approximately 800 to 1200 persons took part in each of these excursions, which sailed on Greek ships direct to Greece from New York. In 1936, 1937, and 1938 the Sons of Pericles also had small excursions to Greece. The second largest fraternal organization, the Gapa, has also had excursions to Greece.

The three annual excursions to Greece are regarded by the Greek Government as being of capital importance. The excursionists are given customs facilities and an elaborate official reception, including Te Deums, sighting tours, and dinners. The excursion leaders are invariably received by the King and the Premier (not through the customary channel of the Legation), and have long private interviews with important government officials.

In 1937 Mr. Chebithas, the president of Ahepa, stated at a banquet in Greece that Greek-Americans would present the Greek government with a new destroyer. This, however, was never accomplished. It is reliably reported that the Greek National Youth Organization brought considerable propaganda influence to bear on the officials of the Sons of Pericles who came to Greece in 1939, but the Pericleans were not receptive.

Gapa

The Greek-American Progressive Association, called Gapa, is said to have 146 active chapters, including junior chapters. It was founded in 1923. It may have about 10,000 members, although in recent years its membership and activity have declined. Headquarters are at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. George P. Gavares is president.

Gapa has undertaken as its prime mission "the preservation and dissemination of the Greek ideals, and especially of the immortal Greek language and of the life-giving Orthodox Christian faith" [*The Tribune of the Gapa*, 12/19/39]. It takes the opposite stand from Ahepa in regard to assimilation.

Gapa had at one time sponsored and subsidized more than 50 schools to teach Greek to the younger generation. These schools have now been turned over to the Archdiocese. In the fall of 1943 Gapa undertook to establish an orphan asylum for children of Greek parentage, and is now conducting extensively a campaign to collect money for that purpose. Gapa has organized many excursions to Greece, the most successful of which is said to be the one which took place in 1933, exclusively for the younger generation.

Gapa frequently speaks in favor of Greek demands but has not taken sides in Greek politics. Official publication is the *Tribune of the Gapa*, a small monthly tabloid in Greek.

American Pan-Hellenic Federation

The American Pan-Hellenic Federation was founded in 1941. It aspires to be the roof organization of all the Greek societies in the United States, including independent local societies, branches of national organizations, and national organizations themselves. The Federation was sponsored by Ahepa, and received the sanction of the Archdiocese. It has been ignored by the daily press and ignored or opposed by other national organizations, notwithstanding that the Federation disclaims any intention of displacing presently existing organizations. The leftist International Workers Order and its newspaper, the *Greek-American Tribune* of New York City, have supported the Federation. The Federation claims a component membership of 300 societies. Its headquarters are at 1821 South Loomis Street, Chicago, Illinois. President of the Federation is Mr. John Mantas. The purpose of the organization is to coordinate the activities of all Greek organizations. In this it successfully rivals the National Committee for the Restoration of Greece. It has undertaken to direct activity on behalf of the war effort. Toward this end it has organized civilian defense committees and other similar activities. Among the declared aims of the Federation are to give every aid possible to those suffering in Greece, and to arouse sympathy for Greece, in order to strengthen Greece's bargaining power at the peace settlement [*California*, 9/24/43; *Greek Language Press*, 11/10/42; *Greek-American Tribune*, 7/24/43]. The Federation has had cordial relations with diplomatic representatives of the Greek government-in-exile, and has avoided political discussions, although some of the individual leaders are known to be opposed to the Greek government.

The Federation has addressed telegrams to President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and King George II of Greece, protesting British reluctance to recognize Cyprian claims for union with Greece [*Greek-American Tribune*, 5/7/43]. The Federation has also expressed support of the National Liberation Front underground movement. In the summer of 1943, the president of the Federation, Mr. Mantas, was reported to have been conducting negotiations to publish his own paper in Chicago [*Campana*, 2/27/43]. Since then, however, nothing else has been known of the project. In 1942 the Federation published two or three issues of its own organ, *Panellenios*, but this has not continued publication.

VI. LABOR GROUPS

The Greek Maritime Union, known as the Greek Seamen's Union until 1941, has a membership of 630 seamen, all Greek nationals. This union, and a similar union in Cardiff, England, represent Greek seamen on the seven seas. There appears to be no normal relationship between these two unions.

The declared purpose of the union is to promote the welfare of the Greek seamen. Greek seamen complain that the present Greek government-in-exile is indifferent to their needs, and they have long demanded that they be allowed to bargain through their union [*Greek-American Tribune*, 2/12/43, 2/14/43, 3/5/43, 4/23/43, 4/30/43; *National Herald*, 2/25/43, 2/15/43, 2/26/43]. Poor working conditions are the chief grievance of the seamen. They have complained against the imprisonment of sailors by Greek port authorities, although the sailors were willing to sail. They have also reported that Greek port authorities in Great Britain have revived charges which had been placed against seamen by the Metaxas regime, three years ago. Stavros Theophanides, Underminister of Merchant Marine with headquarters in New York City until the middle of 1943, has been strongly criticized for his opposition to the

The International Workers Order organ, the *Greek-American Tribune*, has been the chief champion of the seamen. There is little doubt that in many of the complaints the seamen have been justified. Some amelioration, however, has been effected in the latter half of 1943, since collective bargaining has been approved by the government [*Greek-American Tribune*, 6/4/43, 10/1/43]. In October of 1943 the Union began to publish monthly the *Ergatis Thalassis*, a small newspaper dealing with questions of interest to seamen. One editorial [10/43] demanded that the Greek government include representatives of the Greek guerrillas and the Greek seamen.

Greek-American Labor Committee

The Greek-American Labor Committee, founded about October 1943, consists of labor leaders in New York City [*Greek-American Tribune*, 11/5/43]. At the mass meeting held under the Committee's auspices on November 21, 1943, it was voted to send the following wires [*National Herald*, 12/5/43]

- a. To President Roosevelt, expressing support of his leadership.
- b. To the Greek government, welcoming the news that an underground delegation had communicated with the government, and requesting a communique on the meeting.
- c. To Stalin and Churchill, supporting the three-power cooperation.

Twenty-two AFL and CIO unions, and observers from about twelve other unions and organizations supported the meeting. A total of 100,000 persons were said to be represented. The *Greek-American Tribune* has reported on the Committee frequently, as has the *National Herald*, while other newspapers have generally ignored it. In February of 1944, the Committee published a pamphlet *Greece Fights for Freedom*, which reported that the guerrilla-underground movement EAM (see above, p. 6) controlled 60 percent of Greece [*Daily Worker*, 2/15/44].

International Workers Order, Greek Section

The International Workers Order is a fraternal mutual benefit insurance association with about 160,000 members. It has eighteen special language "sections," such as Greek, Rumanian, Italian, etc. Most language sections have a press organ of their own. The International Workers Order and their press organs have generally followed the communist line, and the leaders of organization and a substantial part of the membership are considered to be communists or communist sympathizers. In its social activities the Order attempts to develop the national heritage of each cultural group.

The Greek section was organized on February 28, 1943. It consists of 26 lodges with a total of 900 or 1000 insured members, besides numerous social members [*Greek-American Tribune*, 3/5/43]. The Greek section is governed by a central committee of nine persons, of which N. Economakos is president, K. Kontogianes is secretary, and P. Charisiades is supreme educational councilor [*Greek-American Tribune*, 3/5/43]. The most active chapters are those of New York City, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

The program adopted by the Greek section in February, 1943 includes social gatherings with refreshments, lectures of "mass" interest, and the encouragement of the cultural heritage of the group by forming dramatic, dance, and music groups. It was also decided to support other Greek organizations, especially the American Pan-Hellenic Federation, civilian defense, the Red Cross, the USO, and the Greek and Russian War Reliefs.

The New York chapter, also called the Spartakos Club, has approximately 150 members and by the end of 1943 had contributed \$1000 to relief agencies [*Fraternal Outlook*, 11/42; *Greek-American Tribune*, 3/26/43]. The Chicago lodge, which has 173 members, had given \$300 to relief agencies and \$2500 to the *Greek-American Tribune*. The Philadelphia lodge had given more than \$1000 to various relief agencies [*Greek-American Tribune*, 3/26/43].

The *Greek-American Tribune*, published weekly in New York City, is a leftist publication which has received large donations from campaigns conducted in its behalf by the Greek section of the International Workers Order. At the establishment of the Greek section, the *Greek-American Tribune* was appointed official press organ of the Greek section [*Greek-American Tribune*, 3/5/43]. The *Tribune* is dealt with more fully below, p. 51.

IX. THE GREEK-LANGUAGE PRESS

The Greek-language publications in America have a total of approximately 80,000 readers. Two daily and two weekly newspapers in New York City, two weeklies each in Detroit and Chicago, a monthly magazine in Chicago, and a weekly newspaper in California are the most important publications, and give direction to the rest of the field.

Reflecting current Greek political thought, the newspapers are divided into two groups: one group, headed by *Atlantis* of New York City, supports the King and the present government-in-exile; the other group, headed by the *National Herald*, also of New York City, is opposed to King George. There has also been some dissatisfaction with the government's handling of Greek refugees in the Near East [*Greek Star*, 4-9-43], and with its treatment of Greek merchant seamen [*Greek-American Tribune*, 12-12-43]. The Greek press has been unanimous in calling for increased relief for Greece, punishment of Axis and especially of Bulgarian crimes, and the award of North Epirus, the Dodecanese, and Cyprus to Greece as well as boundary revisions for strategic reasons in Macedonia and Thrace. All papers devote considerable space to local news and organizational news. All papers carry releases of the Office of War Information, and translation of articles from the general American press.

These papers will survive only so long as the Greek-American community maintains strong group consciousness. Accordingly, Greek-language papers are among the most ardent "professional Greeks": they advocate the preservation of the Greek language in America, they extol accomplishments of ancient and modern Greece, and they insist that Greek-Americans are duty bound to support Greek political claims.

The personal jealousies that naturally fester in a decaying system are further aggravated in the case of the Greek-language press by its desire to be the controlling influence in the Greek community and by its apparent unawareness of its approaching extinction. With the exception of an English supplement to the Sunday *National Herald*, practically no attempt is made to attract readers of the American generation.

Publications are listed below approximately in order of importance.

1. *Atlantis*, New York daily, eight pages, 16,000 circulation, founded in 1894. It prints news dispatches from its correspondents in London and in Cairo, six or seven regular columns, and about two pages of local and organizational news.

Atlantis has always been a conservative paper. It supports the Republican party in American politics and the royalist party in Greek politics. Frequent editorials support King George by praising his actions, by urging that criticism of the King or the government-in-exile must wait until the peace settlement, and by inveighing against the detractors of the King as being divisionists [*Atlantis*, 10-9-43; 10-11-43; 10-12-43; 10-14-43]. *Atlantis* [7-27-43] from time to time speaks out in behalf of the Metaxas regime, and has proposed a one-party system for Greece after the war [7-18-43]. *Atlantis* has also advocated American participation in post-war European problems, and it has supported the demands of the Greek seamen against the Greek government [7-30-42]. The paper is written entirely in Greek. In the summer of 1943 *Atlantis* [7-7-43; 7-8-43] revived the long-standing rivalry with the *National Herald* by hurling uncomplimentary taunting at the *Herald*, as only serving the ambitions of its moneyed owner. All during the fall and winter of 1943-44 numerous editorials have appeared

calling for unity [*Atlantis*, 12-20-43; 12-10-43]. During December 1943 and January 1944 it carried a considerable number of sharply-worded editorials against the divisionists [of the *National Herald*] who stirred up factionalism and quarrels in the Greek community in America [*Atlantis*, 12-10-43; 1-20-44; 1-22-44; 1-28-44]. When the *National Herald* sponsored a non-partisan protest meeting against Axis atrocities in Greece, *Atlantis* [1-20-44; 1-22-44] wrote against the meeting and then ridiculed the allegedly [sic] small attendance [2-1-44; 2-2-44].

2. The *National Herald*, New York daily, eight pages, circulation 13,840, founded in 1915. It has London and Cairo correspondents. It is printed entirely in Greek. Since April, 1940, the owner and editor of the *National Herald* has been Basil Vlavianos, a wealthy ship-owner who left Greece during the dictatorship of Metaxas, and who is not an American citizen. He is frequently accused of having political ambitions in Greece.

The *National Herald* has established itself as the liberal anti-royalist newspaper in America. It supported Venizelos, the great liberal leader of Greece until his death in 1935, and was strongly opposed to the dictatorship of Metaxas (1936-1940). Since the fall of Greece, and the advent of Vlavianos to the editorship, the paper has continued to attack all those associated with the dictatorship, including the King, who allowed the dictatorship to flourish, and the present Greek government-in-exile. The editorials strongest in tone are written by Mr. Vlavianos, who writes in a lucid and piercing style.

The *National Herald* has lodged the following charges against the Greek government:

- a. Failure to take care of Greek refugees in the Near East [3-2-43].
- b. Failure to provide adequately for food shipments to Greece [9-27-43].
- c. Payment of exorbitant salaries to the King, the ministers, diplomatic representatives, and many sinecurists [3-1-43].
- d. Suppression of news about Greek guerrillas because they are anti-royalists [8-2-43; 3-4-43].
- e. Dickerings with certain Greek guerrillas to acquire support for the King and the Greek government [8-2-43].
- f. Maintaining among the ministers and other high positions men who supported the dictatorship and men having an undisguisedly [sic] Fascist mentality [2-9-43; 3-23-42].
- g. The King and the Greek government are also accused of subordinating everything else to their desire to return to Greece at the head of the invading Allied armies, restore themselves to power against the will of the people, and revive their allegedly [sic] unpopular regime [7-6-43; 8-2-43; 8-13-43]. The *Herald* has steadily demanded that the King return to Greece only after he has been called by a plebiscite [7-6-43; 6-22-43].

In American domestic issues the *National Herald* has supported the Democratic party.

3. *Greek-American Tribune*, New York, weekly, 20 pages, tabloid size, circulation about 6,000, founded in 1941. The fourth successive socialist or communist Greek newspaper since 1918. The *Tribune* is published by the Proodos Publishing Company, ostensibly an independent firm. Demetrios Christophorides is editor. The *Tribune* is governed by a National Council of 20 to 25 members who meet every four months. From the Council an Executive Committee is elected, consisting of 7 members and including the secretary of the Greek Section of the International Workers' Order. The executive Committee meets every two weeks [*Greek-American Tribune*, 1-21-44].

The *Tribune* is the official organ of the American Pan-Hellenic Federation and of Greek section of the International Workers Order, all of whose members are urged to subscribe. The *Tribune* has no correspondent abroad and does not attempt to make a thorough news coverage. The last two inside pages contain editorials and articles in English. On American and international issues the paper follows the Communist line. The local and organizational news concerns mostly the activities of the Greek International Workers Order lodges, and certain societies such as the Pan-Cyprian Union, and the Arcadian Federation. In Greek politics, the *Tribune* has been less extreme than the *National Herald* in its attacks upon the Greek government. The paper has made the following charges against the government: it has neglected to ship adequate food to Greece; it places its own restoration in Greece, against the will of the people, above all other considerations [7-9-43; 8-20-43]; it has tolerated Fascists in high positions [7-2-43; 6-18-43]; it has nullified the efficiency of the Greek forces in Egypt by favoring fascistic ministers and officers [7-2-43; 5-21-43]; it persecutes the seamen by reviving charges lodged by the Metaxas regime [11-5-43]; it has sided with the ship-owners against the very moderate demands of the seamen [See above, section on Greek Maritime Union]; and until November of 1943 had refused to recognize the Seamen's Union [7-2-43]. The *Tribune* conducts an annual campaign for voluntary contributions from its readers. The Greek lodges of the International Workers Order hold special benefit gatherings for the *Tribune*. The campaign of November, 1943, brought \$2,808 above the original goal of \$10,000 [*Greek-American Tribune*, 12-3-43].

4. *The Free Press*, weekly, six pages, New York, N.Y. Circulation rumored to be between 1,000 and 6,000. It began publication July 17, 1943 and is printed entirely in Greek. Published by the Free Press Publishing Company, Constantine J. Perrakis, publisher and vice-president. The paper is devoted almost entirely to discussions of Greek political problems. It has no foreign correspondents and does not aim to give a news coverage. The policy of the paper is determined by Mr. Polymeros Moschovitis, who also signs the most important editorials and articles.

Moschovitis, a Greek citizen, was formerly an Athenian Liberal journalist and associate of Sophocles Venizelos, who is reliably reported to have planned to publish an anti-royalist magazine in the United States in the fall of 1943, in cooperation with Moschovitis. The *Free Press* appears to be the successor to this projected magazine, although Venizelos, who is now Minister of the Navy in Cairo, has no direct connection with it. Since the paper is considered by many persons to reflect Mr. Venizelos' views unofficially [cf. *Greek-American Tribune*, 9-3-43] it is possible that the purpose of the paper is to protect Mr. Venizelos from the charge of complicity in the policies of the Greek Government-in-Exile. The tone and content of practically all the articles is extremist. This newspaper appears to be more interested in Greek politics than any other newspaper; it was published "to be, during this national tragedy, . . . the voice of the Greeks of Greece." [*Free Press*, 1-8-44]. It has criticized King George, the Greek Government-in-Exile, and communism, and has been accused of being anti-Russian by the Communist-line *Greek-American Tribune* [9-3-43]. The *Free Press* [all issues of Dec., 1943, and Jan., 1944] has made the strongest demands of any Greek newspaper for punishment of Bulgarian crimes in Greece and rectification of Greek boundaries.

Basil Hanioti and Perrakis are each 50% stockholders of the Free Press Publishing Company. Hanioti provided the entire capital of \$5,000. Hanioti also owns 40% of the stock of the National Herald, but is displeased at some of Vlavianos' policies. In view of several attacks on Vlavianos, it may be conjectured that the *Free Press* was established at least partly to offer opposition to Vlavianos.

4. The *Greek Star*, weekly, Chicago, Ill., reported circulation about 2,000; eight pages; founded in 1904. The *Star* reprints from the Greek and American press many brief items about Greece, and occasionally carries editorials in English. It carries considerable advertising and local organizational news. Most of the front page is occupied by articles, whose style is that of the editor, Peter S. Lambros. Lambros holds extreme views, although not clearly defined. He is conservative and in general has strong emotional attachment to monarchy and approves the stern "discipline" imposed upon Greece by the late dictator Metaxas [1-29-43].

The *Star* has been constant in its unstinting praise of dictator Metaxas; it has repeatedly proclaimed that his former associates, such as Cotzias and Nicoloudis, should be given preponderant voice in the Greek govt-in-exile, and that they must be the ones to conduct peace negotiations [4-16-43]. Of this group, Costas Cotzias, former mayor of Athens, has been praised most lavishly and has been proposed as Prime Minister. While the *Star* has never criticized King George II, it has praised him only moderately and infrequently. The present Greek government-in-exile under Premier Tsouderos has been attacked violently [11-27-43] and his resignation demanded on certain occasions [4-9-43; 4-16-43], and at other times has been considered worthy of support *pro tempore* [4-16-43]. The *Star* boasts of being Republican for 40 years.

5. *Saloniki Greek Press*, weekly, Chicago, Ill., circulation between 6,000 and 8,000, eight pages. The *Greek Press* in its present form seems to be only 8 years old, though as the successor of *Saloniki* it bears the designation Volume XXXII.

The *Greek Press* prints news about Greece taken from the Greek and American press and local organizational news. A comparatively large part of the paper is devoted to commentaries on national questions and on all subjects of interest to Greeks. Among the regular features of the newspaper are the "National Tribune" by A. J. Vlachos, who writes of Greek affairs in an intensely patriotic style, and "Beyond Tomorrow" by Graeco-Americans, which supports the war effort and is friendly toward Russia. Articles in the column called "Typewritings" usually treat subjects of interest to the Greek-Americans, occasionally reminding them of their loyalty to Greece. Each issue contains several editorials in English reprinted, with proper credit, from American newspapers.

The *Greek Press* is a democratic paper in American politics. In Greek politics, the *Greek Press* [3-5-42; 7-1-43; 12-16-43] has given moderate support to King George and the Greek gov't-in-exile, and it has been outspoken in its criticism of the detractors of the present Greek government [4-15-43].

6. *California*, weekly, San Francisco, eight pages; founded in 1907. It claims a circulation of 5,000 copies but it is said that only 2,500 copies are printed, 40% of which circulate outside of the West Coast.

This paper gives an inclusive coverage of community and organizational activities on the West Coast. It has a considerable amount of advertising and reprints news items about Greece. In the Greek pages, and especially in the last page which is in English, considerable attention is devoted to activities of the younger generation. *California* is known as a conservative royalist paper; it has spoken favorably of dictator Metaxas; it has supported the Greek King and his Prime Minister [6-13-43]; and it has criticized their opponents [5-21-43]. It supports the Democratic Party [6-18-43].

[There is no seventh entry.—*The Editors.*]

8. The *Ahepan*, bi-monthly, Washington, D.C., the organ of the fraternal Ahepa organization, founded in 1929. It contains news of the various chapters, and articles of general interest. Although the *Ahepan* has no acknowledged policy toward Greek political questions, it has expressed opposition to King George [Nov.-Dec., 1943]. An example of the manner in which Ahepa endeavors to discourage excessive attachment to Greece (and King George) is seen in an article of the *Ahepan* [Nov.-Dec., 1943] which condemns [sic] the use in the Greek churches of a special Longevity Prayer in behalf of "our most pious King, George II." The magazine is American in spirit, and gives limited attention to affairs concerning Greece. It is printed entirely in English.

9. *Hellas* of Chicago, founded in 1940, is a 20-page monthly magazine with circulation of about 2,000. A magazine of extremist liberal or radical ideology, the *Hellas* steadily attacks dictator Metaxas, King George, and the Greek government.

10. *Hestia*, an eight-page monthly of New York, is published by Mr. Herakles Papamanolis. Inspector General of the parochial schools of the Greek Archdiocese. This magazine has no political orientation. Directed toward people of limited education, its articles attempt to instruct on family matters, on the Greek upbringing of the children, and on business methods of small concerns. The circulation is said to be 2,000.

11. *Campana*, monthly, New York, reported to have a circulation of 5,000, four pages, tabloid size, founded in 1917. Editor is Leonidas Stellakis. Though primarily a non-political satirical magazine, *Campana* has occasionally expressed itself in an uncomplimentary manner about the Greek government-in-exile [4-30-43], as well as about reactionary intellectuals in New York.

12. *Satyros*, bi-weekly of New York, founded in 1911; it is a humorous magazine written partly in verse. Editor is C. Zambounis. *Satyros* supports strongly the war effort; hopes for a better world for the common man; and on several occasions criticized the Greek govt. [7-5-43].

13. The *Orthodox Observer* is the bi-weekly official organ of the Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America. This magazine has articles with a moral and religious content. News of the Archdiocese is also given.

14. *The Ahepa Messenger*: see above, p. 29.

15. *The Tribune of the Gapa*: see above, p. 30.

16. *Panellenion*: see above, p. 31.

17. *Ergatis Thalassis*: see above, p. 35.

18. *Crete*: see above, p. 41.

19. *The Greek War Relief News Letter*: see above, p. 46.

20. *News from Greece*: see above, p. 48.

Besides the above publications, some 15 other magazines and weekly newspapers are received or known by this Unit, none of which are of great importance. The following may be mentioned:

21. *Athens*, monthly of Chicago, Illinois, written in English and founded in 1940, deals with cultural subjects of interest to Greek-Americans.

22. The *Chicago Pnyx*, written in English, founded in 1939, has criticized the *Greek Star*, Cotzias, Admiral Sakellariou, and the Greek government-in-exile.

23. *The New Generation*, weekly, North Hollywood, California; 4 pages; published entirely in Greek. Louis Klappas is editor. This paper deals mostly with local news of various Greek communities in California.

24. *The Watch Tower* and *Consolation*, organs of Jehova's [sic] Witnesses, are published in Greek editions.

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Occupational Distribution and Social Mobility of Greek-Canadian Immigrants*

by PETER D. CHIMBOS

This paper examines the occupational distribution and social mobility of Greek-Canadians who have been contributing to the social and economic growth of Canada since the early 1840s. This analysis is primarily concerned with three questions about the occupational life of Greek Canadians: (1) what were the first occupational experiences of Greek immigrants in Canada, and to what extent they experienced upward social mobility; (2) which factors facilitate or hinder the occupational mobility of Greek-Canadian immigrants; and (3) whether the determination of Greek-Canadians to remain a culturally distinct minority has affected their upward social mobility.

The data on which this analysis is based were obtained from Statistics Canada (1971 and 1981) and community surveys dealing with the occupational status and social mobility of Greek-Canadians (Chimbos, 1974; Chimbos and Agocs, 1983). It should be noted, however, that the occupational distribution of Greek-Canadian immigrants presented by Statistics Canada should be viewed with some caution. The occupational categories of Statistics Canada are too general; consequently, some self-employed occupations such as restaurant ownership might be classified under the category of "service and recreation." Nor can the categories be applied equally to all Greek-Canadian communities throughout Canada: for example, the percentage of Greek immigrant entrepreneurs might vary with city size, place of origin in Greece, and opportunities for occupational association occurring within the ethnic community.

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The Early Greek Immigrants

Greeks began coming to Canada, primarily for economic reasons, after the Greek revolution against the Ottoman empire (1821-1828). The first immigrants were unskilled, poorly educated men from the islands and the Peloponnesus, especially from the rural areas of Arcadia and Laconia. Despite their rural background, they settled in large cities in Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia. By 1900, about 200 Greek immigrants resided throughout Canada. Most of them were young men without families who lived in boardinghouses and saw themselves as sojourners.

These Greeks usually worked as peddlers selling flowers, peanuts, sweets, and cigars. Within a relatively short time, some of them were able to start their own small businesses, usually associated with food, establishing an occupational pattern that has continued throughout the history of the Greek presence in Canada. These businesses included pastry shops, restaurants, confectionaries, and fruit stands (Vlassis, 1953).

Greek immigration into Canada increased considerably after 1900. Growing poverty and oppressive taxation in Greece forced more poor Greeks to leave their country in search of better economic opportunities. Many were attracted to Canada during the early part of the century by the Canadian government's policy of importing cheap labor for industrial development. Early Greek immigration to Canada, then, was primarily the result of two forces: (1) the negative socioeconomic conditions in Greece, and (2) Canada's needs in terms of economic and industrial development.

There were 9,500 people of Greek origin in Canada by 1931. Many restaurants, cafés, confectionaries, and hotels were established by Greek Canadians in the cities of London, Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. The entrance of Greek-Canadians into the small-business world was established through thrift, cooperation, and long hours of hard work. Vlassis (1942:23) has suggested that "as a result of their hard work and satisfactory services, Greeks usually are successful businessmen and their restaurants, confectionaries and hotels adorn the principal streets of our Canadian cities." Of course, not all suc-

cessful Greek immigrants were involved in business. Some who had received their university degrees in Greece or Canada entered professional occupations such as law, medicine, and teaching.

However, many Greek immigrants did not experience upward mobility either through business or education, but remained in menial jobs, working long hours for low pay. The exploitative employment of Greek immigrants in restaurants, many of which were operated by their compatriots and by the Canadian Pacific Railways (CPR) in the early 1900s, are examples. It was at the CPR freight sheds in Thunder Bay, Ontario, that Greek workers took the initiative in organizing strikes and defying the company's exploitative working conditions (Morrison, 1976: 114-160).

The first decades of this century were the most difficult for the integration of Greek immigrants into the occupational structure of Canada, in part because of negative views held by established Canadians toward Greeks. Indeed, Greeks at that time were among the least desirable immigrant groups in Canada. They fell into "non-preferred" categories because the Southern Europeans (Bulgarians, Greeks, Italians), and Asians (Armenians and Turks) were associated with radicalism, socialism, and backwardness (Avery, 1973:104). There is no doubt that this labeling had negative consequences for the economic and social life of Greek-Canadians.

Despite employment hardships and adjustment to Canadian society, Greek-Canadians continued to struggle for economic betterment and cultural survival. The years between 1900 and 1930 can be considered the period during which Greek-Canadian communities and associations, ensuring the preservation of Greek culture and grappling with discrimination, were established throughout Canada. Their ethnic national identity and patriotic sentiments were reinforced by Greek-language schools and Greek associations.

Greek Immigrants After the Second World War

The postwar period marks the beginning of the peak period of Greek immigration to Canada. Between 1945-1971 more than 100,000 Greek immigrants from various geographical areas and

social backgrounds came to Canada. These immigrants were overrepresented in the unskilled occupational categories, and were employed in Canada as factory workers, restaurant employees, cleaners, and janitors. One of the largest low-status occupational groups was comprised of domestic servants. Between 1950-1970 more than 10,500 Greek females—13 percent of all Greek immigrants to Canada—came to work as domestic servants in wealthy Canadian homes under special immigration regulations. These young Greek women came from the poorer families of Greece. By coming to Canada as domestic servants they obtained landed immigrant status and eventually sponsored other family members emigrating from Greece.

What factors were responsible for the immigration of so many Greeks to Canada after the Second World War? The disruption of the Greek economy by the Nazi occupation (1941-44) and the Civil War (1946-49) resulted in poverty and high unemployment rates. In 1950, for example, Greece had 200,000 surplus workers, many of whom were willing to emigrate for better economic opportunities. On the other hand, the demand for cheap labor and the need to develop Canada became the "pull" factors for the economically deprived people of postwar Greece.

Another important factor contributing to the Greek immigration to Canada was a chain migration based upon kin and hometown ties. Relatives and co-villagers already established in Canada not only sponsored many immigrants, but also helped them to find employment and accommodation in Canada. Approximately 80 percent of the postwar Greek immigrants in Canada were sponsored or nominated by relatives or co-villagers already settled in Canada (Government of Canada, Manpower and Immigration, 1974). In a recent survey in London, Ontario, about 60 percent of the Greek respondents indicated that they had relatives established there. At least 75 percent of the respondents stated that they were helped by relatives or co-villagers in finding their first jobs in Canada (Chimbos and Agocs, 1983).

The 1971 Census of Canada provides us with the first general statistical information on the occupational status of the Greek immigrant population in Canada. According to the data, 2 percent of the employed Greek immigrants were in small

managerial and professional positions. Over 50 percent of Greek immigrants were found in unskilled and semiskilled jobs, including service and recreation, manufacturing, mechanical, and construction occupations (see Table 1).

Greek immigrant women were usually employed as machine operators in factories, or as hospital workers, waitresses, or cleaners—jobs in which exploitation was widespread. Many received less than the legally-mandated minimum wage, according to evidence from investigations of employment of Greek-Canadian female factory workers and waitresses in Montreal during the early 1970s (Chimbos, 1980:62).

Those few Greek immigrants who are professionals typically work as engineers, lawyers, doctors, researchers, and university professors.¹ They received their primary and secondary education in Greece, and their university degrees in Canada and the United States. Some of the university graduates have obtained government jobs, but as far as can be determined, only a few Greek-Canadians have penetrated high positions of power within the provincial or federal political structures.

Has the occupational status of Greek-Canadian immigrants improved during the 1970s? A comparison of 1971 with 1981 Statistics Canada data suggests that Greek-Canadian immigrants are still overrepresented in the unskilled and semiskilled categories, including "service," "processing," "machining," "product fabricating," and "construction." But the percentage of Greek immigrants belonging to "managerial/administrative" and "other professional" categories showed marked increases from 1971 to 1981 (see Table 1). There are two possible explanations for this. Many Greek immigrants entered Canada in the 1970s for university training, and consequently obtained permanent residence. Secondly, many Greek immigrants who came to Canada in the 1950s as children were able to take advantage of the educational opportunities in Canada and obtained their university or college degrees by 1981.

Why is such a high proportion of the Greek-immigrant population employed in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations?

¹In 1986 more than 160 academics and researchers were working in Canadian universities and research centers. See *Greek Academics and Researchers in Canada*, published by the Press and Information Office, Embassy of Greece, 80 Maclaren Street, Ottawa, Ontario, 1986.

Table 1

Occupational Distribution of Greek Canadians
(Identified by Place of Birth) Canada 1971 and 1981

Occupational categories	1971 %	1981 %
Managerial/Administrative4	2.0
Other professional	1.6	3.1
Clerical, sales, and related	6.9	10.3
Services	25.3	28.7
Farm. Hort. and Husb.	0.1	0.5
Process., Mach., Fab., and Assem.	22.1	19.1
Construction, Trade and Trans., Equip. oper.	3.5	4.9
Other	2.8	2.3
Not stated and not applicable	37.3	29.1
	100.	100.

Source: Statistics Canada (public use sample, 1971 and 1981).

Total number in the samples: 783 (1971), 1,776 (1981).

First, Greek immigrants received a low level of education in Greece. According to 1971 Statistics Canada, 61 percent of Greek immigrants in the sample had eight years or less of schooling. This compares with 50 percent of the Greek respondents in the 1981 sample (see Table 2). In the London survey, 67 percent of the Greek respondents had completed tenth grade or less (Chimbos and Agocs, 1983). Thus, low occupational and educational qualifications seem to be the main reason for low job status among Greek immigrants. Second, most Greeks had little or no knowledge of either English or French when they arrived in Canada. A survey in Toronto has shown that 60 percent of Greek respondents appeared to be convinced that the language barrier was a liability in getting good jobs or promotions (Bogue, 1979). Third, the majority of Greeks came to Canada to work as laborers under the most exploitative conditions. When immigrants start at a low occupational level, it becomes very difficult for them to raise their economic status.

Table 2

Distribution of Academic* Categories Among
Greek Immigrants in Canada, 1981

Academic Categories	No.	%
Below grade 5	175	9.9
Grades 5-8	710	40.0
Grades 9-13	306	17.2
Secondary school diploma	119	6.7
Trade school diploma or certificate	159	8.9
Without diploma	76	4.3
With other non-university	68	3.8
Some university	40	2.3
Certificate below B.A.	50	2.8
B.A. or higher degree	65	3.6
Not applicable	8	.5
Total	1,776	100.

Source: Statistics Canada (public use sample, 1981).

*There are no comparable academic categories for 1971 that can be used in this table.

Becoming an Entrepreneur

As noted earlier, Greeks left their homeland to seek economic opportunities in Canada, a country whose society emphasizes private enterprise. To what extent, then, have Greek immigrants moved upward into the rank of the small, independent businessman? Unfortunately, the Canadian census does not indicate how many Greek immigrants are entrepreneurs in Canada. But community studies have shown the determination of many Greek immigrants to move up the social scale by establishing their own small businesses. In Thunder Bay, Ontario, 52 percent of Greek heads of households interviewed were small-business owners. Approximately 44 percent of them were restaurant proprietors (Chimbos, 1974). In London, Ontario, 28 percent of the Greek households in the sample had their own businesses (Chimbos and Agocs, 1983). It seems, however, that in large Canadian cities,

the proportion of Greek business proprietors is much lower. According to one study in Montreal, only about 9 percent of the Greeks in the sample owned their own businesses (Gavaki, 1975:64). In large urban communities such as Montreal, Greek immigrants are more likely to obtain their first jobs in factories and service businesses, and are likely to remain in such occupational categories.

Since the beginning of their settlement, Greek-Canadians have shown a concentration in restaurants or other enterprises associated with food. For example, Greek-owned restaurants, cafés, and confectionaries appeared in the 1870s and 1880s in Montreal. According to Vlassis's account, at least 64 percent of the Greek-owned businesses in Canada in 1952 were restaurants and cafés. Other studies indicate that 80 percent of the Greek-owned businesses in Thunder Bay, Ontario (Chimbos, 1974), and 65 percent of the Greek-owned businesses in London, Ontario (Chimbos, 1980), were restaurants and cafés. In Woodstock, Ontario, twenty-two of the thirty Greek immigrant households (73 percent) owned businesses. Twenty of these entrepreneurs (90 percent) were in the restaurant business.

Specialization in the restaurant business has enhanced the Greek minority's chances of moving out of low occupational status by providing its members, and particularly unskilled immigrants, with a channel for mobility. On the other hand, the restaurateur may become entrapped in a restricted occupational niche, in which the work is hard, the risks substantial, and the hours long, leaving little time for family life.

What factors have contributed to the development of this occupational specialty among Greek immigrants? Why do individuals who had no previous experience with restaurants and cooking skills in Greece become restaurant owners in Canada? Our contention is that Greek-immigrant entrance into the restaurant business can be explained in terms of the differential occupational association occurring within the ethnic and kinship networks. The restaurateur trade is learned through the process of association with those people—frequently relatives—who already have experience in this business. More specifically, the more the new immigrant associates with the restaurant business, the more likely he/she is to learn the trade and eventually be-

come a restaurateur when economic circumstances permit.

How do new immigrants make their initial association with the restaurant business? Upon arrival in Canada, Greek immigrants have tended to associate themselves with kin network and the Greek ethnic community already established in the city of destination. Having no knowledge of the new society's languages and few occupational skills, the newcomers have turned to relatives or other Greeks for help in finding their first jobs in Canada.² The restaurants and cafés established by earlier Greek immigrants provided initial employment and training for new immigrants who lacked sufficient academic training and transferable skills to gain access to other employment. After they learned the skills involved in cooking and management, many Greek immigrants invested their savings in their own restaurants, often with financial assistance from others. These restaurateurs provided further employment opportunities for other new immigrants who similarly learned the specialty and later ventured into their own businesses.

Why did some Greek immigrants enter their ethnic occupational niche, while others did not? According to the London survey (Chimbos and Agocs, 1983), proprietors appeared to bring with them from Greece a moderate level of skill, transferable occupational experience, and educational attainment—attributes that could be referred to in the aggregate as human capital attributes. Men who were unskilled laborers in Greece were unlikely to become entrepreneurs in Canada. But those who had been semiskilled or skilled workers, clerical or sales employees, farmers, business proprietors, or students in Greece had a 40 to 60 percent chance of eventually becoming proprietors in Canada. We might suspect that Greeks who had achieved some education and acquired some skills in Greece might have brought with them a desire for economic advancement probably unavailable to them in their homeland.

Although Greeks have been able to move up to small entrepreneurial status, they are absent from corporate and high government positions. It is not surprising, then, that English and French Canadians rank Greeks as "below average" on a scale

²A London survey (1981) reported that 81 percent of the Greek immigrants received help from relatives or other Greeks in finding their first jobs.

measuring the social status of ethnic groups in Canada (Peneo, 1977).

The Greek minority's relatively low occupational standing in Canada is associated with a high degree of ethnic cohesion and identity, a pattern commonly observed among Eastern European ethnic groups (Reitz, 1980:193-201). Does this mean that the future upward mobility of Greek-Canadians depends on the disappearance of Greek culture, as assimilation theorists suggest? According to Gordon (1964), an ethnic group either becomes assimilated or remains in a low-status position. But the Greek experience in Canada evidences the pluralists' view that upward mobility of ethnic group members to middle-class status does not necessarily depend on assimilation or on the disappearance of ethnic identity (Newman, 1978). An ethnic culture, the pluralists argue, is capable of change without disappearing. Successful Greeks in Canada have not only maintained their ethnoreligious identity, but are also strong supporters of ethnic institutions. They often provide financial aid and leadership for the maintenance of the Greek Orthodox church, Greek schools, and Greek philanthropic and cultural associations. Reitz (1980:179-85) has suggested that ethnic identification of upwardly-mobile middle-class immigrants may be due to: (a) the quick move into the small-business world after becoming established in Canada; (b) perceived inaccessibility to political and economic positions of power; and (c) concentration in specialized occupational niches.

What we see, then, is that aspects of the Greek subculture, such as occupational specialization in restaurants and a participation in the social network, involving obligations and support to relatives and co-villagers, facilitate the ambitious immigrant's mobility to middle-class status. On the other hand, institutions such as the Greek-language school, cultural organizations, and the family help Greek-Canadians retain their ethnic identity while "making it" in Canadian society.

In spite of the marginal position of Greeks in the Canadian mosaic, the passage of time and upward social mobility in the second and third generations will help Greek-Canadians move out of their low occupational status and develop a sense of middle-class Canadian "Greekness." Impressionistic evidence

from various Greek-Canadian communities suggests that second-generation Greek-Canadians, through higher academic attainment, are now entering higher professional occupations than their parents.

A recent study by the author on intergenerational mobility of the Skouriotes³ in Canada indicates, for example, that about 43 percent of the second generation⁴ in the sample (ages twenty to thirty) have entered professional occupations through attaining university or college degrees. Although over 51 percent of the immigrant Skouriotes' parents had established themselves as small-business proprietors in Canada, none of them could be classified in the professional category. But further research based on larger samples of second-generation Greek-Canadians is needed to determine to what extent the findings based on the intergenerational mobility of the Skouriotes is applicable to Greek-Canadians across Canada.

Generally speaking, the Greek minority will continue to be powerless as long as English and French Canadians are reluctant to recruit Greek-Canadians to power positions, and as long as Greek-Canadian communities lack unity.⁵ Greek-Canadians can have a greater voice in Canada by means of collective action by pooling their resources. In this way they could become a stronger and more influential ethnic group in a multicultural society.

Conclusion

The available data show that Greek-Canadian immigrants were still overrepresented in the semiskilled and unskilled occupational categories. However, many Greek-Canadian immigrants

³The Skouriotes are from a rural village of southern Greece named Skoura. They grew up in the village during the 1930s and 1940s when educational opportunities were limited and they immigrated to Canada after 1950 for economic reasons. The overwhelming majority of them were farmers who worked on their own small farms before emigrating. By coming to Canada, the Skouriotes hoped to improve their socioeconomic status and provide better academic and occupational opportunities for their children.

⁴"Second generation" refers to the children of immigrants.

⁵Disunity or polarization within the Greek communities in Canada is often based on conflicting political ideologies, competition for administrative power between clergy and lay-people, personal interests, and regionalism.

have exhibited considerable upward mobility by becoming small entrepreneurs specializing in the restaurant business, and by placing emphasis on social networks involving mutual obligations and support; these have facilitated the move out of entrance status. Greek-Canadian numbers in the occupational categories of "managers," "administrators," and "professionals" have substantially increased between 1971 and 1981 as a result of demographic changes in the Greek immigrant population.

There are signs that the children of Greek immigrants are achieving much higher occupational status than that of their parents because of higher education. This contradicts Porter's (1965) argument that non-British ancestry was a barrier to upward social mobility in Canada.⁶

Whether children of Greek immigrants in Canada have achieved higher educational and occupational status than children of the same generation of parents who stayed in Greece will have to be demonstrated by comparative studies.

⁶Tony Richmond's study shows Canadians born of non-British origin in Toronto are not handicapped by their ethnicity in terms of educational attainment. See "Ethnogenerational Variation in Educational Achievement," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, 1986, pp. 75-88.

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Book Reviews

Lost Opportunities: The Cyprus Question, 1950-1963 by EVANGELOS AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA. New York: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1986. Pp. vii + 440. Cloth. \$30.00.

Public figures frequently write memoirs, either of specific events in which they participated or of their years in public life. Such accounts become important source material for scholars. Unfortunately, the accounts tend to be biased, as the writer invariably presents him/herself in the best possible light. The very process of justifying actions taken and policies pursued results in selectivity as to the information conveyed, and as to which data is used or ignored. Moreover, the historical events recounted are interpreted in a manner that justifies the actions and behavior of the author-participant. Nevertheless, despite the biases presented by diplomats and political leaders, these accounts are usually placed within a credible historical framework and are the source of significant factual information.

Averoff-Tossizza's *Lost Opportunities: The Cyprus Question, 1950-1963* (translated from the Greek, *Historia Chamenon Eukairion*), strains the limits of credibility. Averoff was foreign minister of Greece in the Karamanlis government from 1955 to 1963. In this capacity, he was directly responsible for negotiations with the Greek Cypriots, the British governors of Cyprus, the British government, Turkish officials (at times), and for the presentation of the Cyprus question at the United Nations. Furthermore, he was a central actor in the Zurich and London conferences and instrumental in the creation of an independent Cypriot state in 1959. These were crucial years for Cyprus. It was the time of the EOKA guerilla movement against British colonial rule and for *enosis* with Greece; the exile by the British of the nationalist leader, Archbishop Makarios; efforts by Greece to gain international support for the Cypriot cause in the United Nations; and, finally, after protracted negotiations, the independence of Cyprus. Yet Averoff's recounting of these dramatic events and of his own role is grossly inadequate.

I expected that a statesman of Averoff's prominence, who in later years became the leader of the conservative post-junta New Democracy party, would provide insight and understanding of the complex and often muddled international and domestic, political and personal dynamics at play in the Cyprus issue. Unfortunately, Averoff's account sheds little light on the matter. The reader's attention drifts as the author dully recites one event after another, poorly written in a dry style. In part, this dullness stems from Averoff's preoccupation with strategy while ignoring the larger picture. His perspective on the events that transpired and his judg-

ments are in terms of the effectiveness of a particular strategy's achievement of a desired outcome. But the reader is at a loss, not knowing what the desired outcomes were in the negotiations with the British during the 1950s, or in the periodic recourses to the United Nations. This volume does not provide the reader with an understanding either of Greece's national interests vis-a-vis Cyprus, as defined by the Karamanlis government, or of its foreign policy goals. In fact, the most striking feature of this book is what is omitted: its failure to provide an overall analysis of the Cyprus issue; the lack of clarity as to the objectives of Greek foreign policy; the absence of a forthright discussion of the relationship among the Greek government, Archbishop Makarios, and Grivas; and the role of Great Britain and the United States in coercing Greece and the Greek Cypriots into accepting the London and Zurich agreements.

The title of Averoff's book leads the reader to expect a clear exposition of the "lost opportunities." But the reader will search in vain, for although Averoff periodically criticizes a particular strategy on the part of one or another of the actors in the Cypriot cases, it is not clear which of many developments were lost opportunities or, more precisely, what goal was lost. Averoff presents himself as a benign instrument of history, in which others, usually (but not always) the Greek Cypriots, erred. But the author is not benign and, despite his tendency to obfuscate, his underlying world view and the principles that guided his behavior can be inferred both from what he says and from what he ignores. The man who emerges from this volume is a pragmatist devoid of principles that might have constrained his political behavior, and one who exhibits vehemence against his political opposition in Greece. Most striking in this volume are Averoff's repeated statements of his readiness to accept several British proposals rejecting both independence and self-determination for Cyprus, a position compatible with his view of Great Britain as "playing fair" and his belief that ideals have little place in politics.

Differing interpretations of events by various participants and observers are inevitable, but there are limits beyond which reality becomes unrecognizable. In Averoff's volume the reader finds him/herself skeptical, not only with regard to Averoff's interpretations, but, more importantly, with regard to the veracity of some of the facts and described events. While Averoff frequently attempts to validate his account by citing letters and/or documents, the absence of an independent source in many instances makes it impossible to verify his assertions. There is no way of knowing which crucial facts he has omitted and which facts are prevarications. For example, anyone who is even superficially acquainted with Grivas (who, under the name Dhigenis, was the leader of the Greek Cypriot guerilla force against British colonial rule and who led the fight for *enosis* with Greece) is familiar with his right-wing fanaticism. Averoff's description of him as the former leader of Chi, a Greek resistance organization against the Nazi occupation forces during the Second World War, is an affront. Chi emerged toward the end of the Second World War, and its enemy was neither the German occupiers nor Greek collaborators, but Greeks

whom Chi fingered as communists and, therefore, fair game for assassination.

Among Averoff's omissions is his failure to adequately deal with the accusation that in 1956 and 1957 he proposed the partition of Cyprus. He attributes this accusation to a rumor started by Turks, but he ignores similar accusations made by Greeks. And it is significant that he ignores the fraudulence of the 1960 elections while vehemently condemning the opposition for its criticism of policies pursued in Cyprus. This extreme selectivity makes it difficult to accept Averoff's word that, in the negotiating process for a solution to the Cyprus issue, he threatened to leave the Atlantic alliance. Nothing in Averoff's political life would lead one to anticipate such a defiant action. Yet despite the author's subservience to Great Britain and the United States, to which he alludes on occasion, he attempts to project Greece and, hence, himself while foreign minister as autonomous actors on the international scene—a ludicrous endeavor in light of Greece's client position vis-a-vis the United States in the 1950s and 1960s.

After completing this volume, the reader is left with an enhanced sense of the Cypriot tragedy that was and is. It is evident from Averoff's account that the Greek government was anxious to resolve the Cypriot problem, maintain friendly relations with Turkey, and not allow Cyprus to disrupt its alliance with the West. Cyprus was, and remains, a thorn for Greek foreign policy. The "lost opportunities," to use Averoff's phrase, were many, but they were not the strategic errors made by not accepting British-mandated compromises such as the MacMillan plan. Rather, the fundamental tragedy was a consequence of the interests of foreign powers, both friends and foes, which thwarted the evolution of Cyprus. And it is sad that once *enosis* was no longer feasible, and once the Greek Cypriots began to differentiate themselves from mainland Greeks and Turks, no Cypriot nationality developed. The preconditions for the emergence of this Cypriot nationality were thwarted by the strategic interests of the Atlantic alliance, and by Greco-Turkish relations.

—Adamantia Pollis



The Elgin Marbles: Should They be Returned to Greece? by CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS, with essays by Robert Browning and Graham Binns. London: Chatto & Windus, 1987. *Die Tücke des Objekts: Festschrift zum fünfzigsten Geburtstag von Hermann Sturm*. Rader-Verlag, 1987.

"You English are carrying off the works of the Greeks our forefathers; preserve them well; Greeks will come and redemand them" (a "learned Greek of Joannina" quoted by John Cam Hobhouse, 1813).

As indeed they have. The demand, under consideration since 1975 and first voiced by the present Minister of Culture, Melina Mercouri, was formally tabled on September 4, 1984, the official British rejection following on October 31, 1985. But the campaign continues. There is, in London, a British Committee for the Restitution of the Parthenon Marbles, chaired by Professor Robert Browning, which has attracted widespread academic, literary, and parliamentary support; various international organizations, first and foremost the United Nations, have espoused the cause. The only grassroots poll, taken by the *Sunday Times* among its readers, showed a majority for restitution. The British opposition leaders have made promises, and the former Labour leader, Michael Foot, suggested in Parliament that the Elgin marbles be returned to Greece in 1988 to commemorate the bicentenary of Byron's birth.

Christopher Hitchens's valuable book is, therefore, highly topical. Not only is it an essential tool—one might say weapon—for supporters of restitution, but opponents need to see their arguments marshalled with fairness and efficaciously refuted. But beyond its polemical value, the author's research has produced what will probably remain the standard historical account, both of Elgin's spoliation of the Parthenon in 1802, and the removal of the sculptures, originally intended to adorn his country-seat, to London; their acquisition by the British Museum; and the controversy, which started almost immediately with Byron's poetic diatribes, and which has continued until today.

We note in passing a touching, eyewitness account by Edward Daniel Clarke: "The *Disdar* (Turkish official) who beheld the mischief done to the building, took his pipe out of his mouth, dropped a tear, and in a supplicating tone of voice said to Lusieri (Elgin's draughtsman), '*Telos!*' " We must note, too, Elgin's own admission, in a letter written in 1811 to the then prime minister Spencer Perceval, that "the Porte [to whom he was accredited ambassador] denied that the persons who had sold these marbles to me had any right to dispose of them."

From Byron onwards, many authoritative voices have condemned the removal of the marbles. The case for return put forth by the philosopher Frederic Harrison in 1891 found such eminent supporters as C. P. Cavafy, George Nathaniel Curzon, and Sir Roger Casement. Later, Thomas Hardy, Compton Mackenzie, Harold Nicholson, Lawrence Durrell, Colin MacInnes, and Peter Levi all expressed support. For one brief moment, in 1941, even the British government contemplated post-war restitution, as a token of appreciation for Greece's stand in 1940.

Opposition, on the other hand, has been mainly bureaucratic, and the British Museum has, perhaps not unnaturally, taken up an entrenched position. Basically, the case has been that the marbles were legally purchased from Elgin, in settlement of his debts. Otherwise, the ground has shifted pragmatically as occasion demanded. That the marbles are more widely accessible to scholars and art-lovers in the British Museum might have carried weight at one time but, in the present days of mass tourism, no longer holds. It could certainly be suggested that they will be better

understood and appreciated in the context of the building for which they were created. And for those who cannot travel, surely the Greek citizen has a prior right? That they are better cared for in London than they could be in Athens can no longer be sustained, in view of the new museum to be built for them, and in view of the record of conservation of the Acropolis monuments; and, to this reviewer it would seem that, recalling the cleaning scandal of 1938, the British Museum is on dubious ground in making such a claim. But, at present, the argument most relied on is that of precedent: restitution could unleash a flood of claims which would empty the Western world's major museums. Again, this cannot hold, since restitutions have been made and, anyway, there are now international authorities, such as UNESCO, competent to determine which artworks form an inalienable part of a nation's history and heritage. No one is demanding the return of all sculptures and all paintings. Greece asks only for the Parthenon marbles. Imagine, for a moment, how the British would feel if a stolen Magna Carta appeared in some foreign museum, or if the Tower of London were sold off, only to be rebuilt in Texas: would they not feel a loss of history?

The one historical, and nonpragmatic argument which demands serious consideration is that today's Greeks are not authentically Greek, and therefore cannot claim the monument of Periclean Athens as their own. A less extreme and more sympathetic variant of this has been developed by Professor Cobet in his monograph, entitled (in English translation) *The Acropolis of Athens: A Greek National Monument?* He sees the linking of national identity with ancient Greece as a foreign fruit of eighteenth and nineteenth century classicism and romanticism, of the spirit of Winckelmann and of Victor Hugo, wished upon the new Greek state by its foreign "protecting powers," after all sense of cultural continuity had been lost during the intervening centuries.

These two arguments can be considered together. First, there is the linguistic continuity, predating even the Greek alphabet and most marked in Cyprus. Then, the reviewer, from a background of university classical studies and archaeological experience, and having lived in Greece as a Greek citizen, has been struck by the continuity of heritage. There are ancient, pre-Christian survivals in popular Greek religion, Cretan Greeks who might have stepped out of a Minoan fresco, peasants debating the moral and philosophical problems of the *Antigone* from their outpost on the rocks above Epidaurus theater (so clearly the heirs of the Periclean state-subsidized theater public); finally, the highly critical Greek attitude—at all levels of education—to the pronouncements of authority, which could readily explain why the earliest form of democracy was born there.

And if Professor Cobet has a valid point about foreign influence as regards one section of Greek society, what of the unlettered General Makriyannis, the shepherd's son from Roumeli, cited by Hitchens as saying of his soldiers, who wanted to sell ancient statuary to foreigners: "I took these soldiers aside and told them this: You must not give away these things, not even for ten thousand *talers*; it is for them we fought."

Greeks have their own sense of time; for them, the past is closer and more distinctly present.

Any tendency to leap straight from classical Athens to present-day Greece, ignoring the history and cultural traces of the intervening centuries, of course can be legitimately attacked; just as the simplistic nationalism of the Junta's "Helleno-Christian" cult, which justifiably has alienated Professor Cobet, is merely another manifestation of that regime's gift for making everything it touched ridiculous.

However, most thoughtful Greeks, while cherishing their rightful ancient heritage, accept the enriching diversity of the succeeding centuries which have made Greece a unique meeting place of East and West. As Sarafis told me: "We are Orientals. We have as much to learn from and to give to the East as to the West."

The essays by Professor Robert Browning on the Parthenon in history and by Graham Binns on restoration are valuable adjuncts to Christopher Hitchens's text; and there are tables locating the whereabouts of all Parthenon marbles, as well as an Appendix containing the Parliamentary debates of 1816. The book is beautifully produced with copious illustrations, and all that it lacks—too frequent a failing in the present-day is an index.

—Marion Sarafis



Kostis Palamas: A Portrait and an Appreciation by THEOFANIS G. STAVROU and CONSTANTINE A. TRYPANIS, including *Iambs and Anapaests* and *Ascreaus* by Kostis Palamas. Translated by Theodore P. Stephanides and George C. Katsimbalis. Minneapolis: A Nostos Book, 1985. Frontispiece. Pp. xi + 132. Cloth. \$20.00.

The Longest Night: Chronicle of a Dead City by PETROS HARIS. Translated from the original Greek by Theodore Sampson. Minneapolis: A Nostos Book, 1985. Frontispiece. Pp. x + 128. Cloth. \$20.00.

Leonis: A Novel by GEORGE THEOTOKAS. Translated from the original Greek by Donald E. Martin. With a preface by Theofanis G. Stavrou. Minneapolis: A Nostos Book, 1985. Frontispiece. Pp. xvi + 145. Cloth. \$20.00.

The Society for the Study of Greek Life and Thought, Nostos of Minneapolis, in collaboration with the Modern Greek Studies program at the University of Minnesota, has thus far produced over a dozen very attractive volumes on some very major modern Greek authors and Greek cultural themes. The most recent titles are quite representative of the series. All of the books published thus far have made a substantial contribution to modern Greek studies.

Kostis Palamas: A Portrait and An Appreciation was the result of the Fifth Annual Celebration of Modern Greek Letters of the Special Collections of the University of Minnesota Libraries. It contains two essays on the life and work of the first modern Greek man of letters to be nominated for the Nobel Prize. Romain Rolland, who nominated him for this honor in 1930, declared Palamas to be the greatest living poet in Europe at that time. The volume also contains two of Palamas's poetic works, *Iambs and Anapaests* and *Ascraeus*, in the splendid translations by Theodore P. Stephanides and George C. Katsimbalis, "the Colossus of Maroussi" (as he was named by Henry Miller). There is also an excellent essay on the *Ascraeus*, which was originally presented as a lecture to the Athens Parnassus Society in March of 1963 by Greece's outstanding literary critic, Andreas Karandonis, entitled "Introduction to Palamas's *Ascraeus*," plus a translation of Palamas's "Olympic Hymn" by Theofanis G. Stavrou and Soterios G. Stavrou. This celebration was meant to coincide with the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the poet's death in 1983, officially declared as "Palamas Year" in Greece and duly co-celebrated with the Palamas Institute in Athens on May 14, 1982. Though this book was prepared for a specific occasion, it offers the reader an excellent introduction to the modern Greek poet who dominated nearly a half-century of modern Greek literature.

Kostis Palamas (1859-1943) became the national poet of Greece because in his person and in his work he "emerged as a unifying national symbol in a society which has had to respond to dramatic political, social, and cultural changes—in short, a society which had need of some kind of landmark—and was acknowledged as the teacher, the student of Greece, the thinker, the mystic, the hesychast, the admirer of science, the craftsman of the word, the destroyer and the builder, the passionate rebel and the reconciler, the unsubdued one, the hermit, the nationalist and the citizen of the world, and above all as the great synthesizer of the neo-hellenic spirit" (T. G. Stavrou, p. 1). He became so important a figure that modern Greek poetry is often described as pre-Palamic, Palamic, or post-Palamic. His literary output was vast. Though he earned his living by writing in *katharevousa*, he was a champion of demotic Greek. He knew the classics, Byzantine culture, and modern European letters, science, and thought. His epic poems, *The Twelve Words of the Gypsy* (1907) and *The King's Flute*, are masterpieces that show a probing mind with a vast historical perspective, a sense of the continuity of Greek history and the Greek heroic spirit, and a reaching out for the unity of all of humankind with a constant raising of the question of what constitutes freedom, and the never-ending search to identify it, preserve it, and hand it on to thinking and feeling people.

Though Palamas is primarily a lyric poet, his other contributions to modern Greek studies should not be ignored. Professor Constantine Trypanis, secretary of the Academy of Athens, former minister of Culture and Science, and professor emeritus at Athens, Oxford, and Chicago Universities, has summarized Palamas's literary achievements in these words:

It is hard to overrate the significance of Palamas for the revival of modern Greek poetry. By rejecting the Romantics and the "purist" form of Greek he infused new life into Greek poetry; he led a group of his contemporaries and all the younger poets who followed him into a fresh world of literature in which all the possibilities of the modern Greek language and its rhythms were explored. Together with these, he scrutinized and put at the service of modern Greek verse not only ancient and medieval Greek poetry, history, mythology and folklore and the Greek landscape, but much of the great literature and philosophy of the West as well. Nor should his brilliant literary criticism or his prose writings, among which his short stories occupy a place of honor, be overlooked (p. 45).

Palamas, it should be noted, had developed considerable facility in presenting sharp and original imagery and expressing incredibly apt feeling for sound and rhythm, and an uncanny ability to relate the glorious past of Greece to the present.

The next two works are purely literary in nature, and are by two of the most outstanding figures in twentieth-century Greek literature. Petros Haris (whose real name is Yannis Marmariadis) was born in Athens in 1902 and has been known to generations of readers (since 1933) as editor of *Nea Estia*. A novelist, critic, and writer of fiction and travel literature, Petros Haris has seen his works published in various European languages, but *The Longest Night* is his first book-length work to appear in English. Eight of the nine short stories in this collection take place in Athens and one—probably the best—on an island. They are titled "A Dead City"; "Reinforced Concrete"; "Not a Bird in the Sky"; "Of Love and Darkness"; "A Young Man's Dance"; "The Third Son"; "Four and a Half"; "Lights on the Sea"; and "Before the Dawn." They chronicle the Nazi occupation of Athens from the arrival of the Germans to their departure. Haris recreates for his readers the grim atmosphere of those tragic years, giving an inside view of what it was like to live in a "dead city" where individual freedom no longer was possible and savage tyranny prevailed.

Though *The Longest Night* is a series of stories, there is an essential unity to the book as a whole because "in its pages we bear witness to a whole people who, in struggling to regain their freedom, live, suffer, and hope as if a single person. But even more significantly, we realize that these oppressed people hate their masters not as men but as the invaders of their country who have forced them to live in abject slavery. To them, their oppressors were men who had probably been impelled to the violence and the horror of war by a way of thinking or a force of will not of their own volition" (p. ix).

The Longest Night, originally published in 1969, has been categorized as belonging to the field of antiwar literature. It is the story of human suffering, the journey from darkness to light, from subjugation and oppression to freedom. It is also a study in human compassion and human hero-

ism and, at the same time, an intense study of society through the individual and the individual through society. Haris's major novel, *Days of Rage*, about the Greek civil war in December 1944, was published in 1978; Haris was no stranger to the theme of war.

Theodore Sampson has provided us with a highly effective and very sensitive translation of a major work of a major Greek author. George Theotokas (1905-1966) belongs to the "generation of the Thirties," and though professionally a lawyer, was throughout his life a major literary figure whose essay "The New Spirit" (1929) served as the intellectual manifesto of his generation and of one of his last works. *The National Crisis* (1966) reasserted his constant concern with the question of the role of the artist/intellectual in society. The author of many writings, Theotokas's most celebrated work is probably his novel *Argo* (1933-36), which is recognized as the best social commentary on Greece during the period between the two world wars. His only other novel is *Leonis*.

Anyone who has been to Constantinople (Istanbul) or is familiar with European history before, during, and after the First World War, will be fascinated by *Leonis*, a "confessional novel" that has been acknowledged as Theotokas's best literary work. It is, at the same time, the story of Theotokas himself, "the artist as a young man" (to adopt the title of James Joyce's famous work). *Leonis* belongs to the category of adolescent literature; it is the story of a young Greek boy growing up in cosmopolitan Constantinople, describing him at play, in love, aspiring to be a creative artist, and confronting the realities of his own life and the world around him. Growing up involves change, and we witness this change in Leonis and also in the European landscape of which he is a part; and just as Turkey, Greece, and Europe enter a new period of historical life, so Leonis enters a new period of personal life, as a result of historical phenomena whose consequences are not wholly clear until after they have occurred. The joys of youth are replaced by the sorrows of adulthood, and the play of boyhood by the deadly seriousness of manhood. Loss comes, but so does gain. The old life is gone but a new one arises—all seen within the framework of actual history.

As Leonis returns to the city (in Greece) where he is to begin a new life, he expresses these thoughts with which the novel ends:

"We've lost whatever we had," thinks Leonis. "We've lost all our loves, but we are in love with a thousand things, with everything that passes away and everything that is beginning. From whatever side we consider ourselves, we are split down the middle: without convictions, without opinions, yet filled with ideas, suspicions, premonitions; without goals, yet filled with the necessity for action; daydreaming, yet full of consciousness; romantic, yet full of science and practicality; a follower of religion from which the gods seem absent; in love with things which lived yesterday, or will live tomorrow and with other things which have perhaps never lived nor shall ever live. Finally—what will come of it?—we are such as

we are, and not by our own decision. If anyone doesn't like it, we are sorry, but such was the will of the era which defines our existence. If we do not enclose our era within our souls, how are we genuine? And if we do not have the courage to prove ourselves false, how shall we succeed in being honest? . . ." (pp. 144-145).

Is Theotokas suggesting a kind of historical determinism or, rather, that we can learn from history in a way that affects our own personal lives? His own life, like that of his good friend George Seferis, the Nobel Prize winner in poetry, was bound up *in* history, but not bound *to* history. He knew that there was joy in life because he had experienced it in youth, but he also knew there was sorrow—and he can express both powerfully.

Donald Martin's excellent translation of *Leonis* makes available to English readers another remarkable modern Greek literary work.

Nostos continues to provide modern Greek studies with important Greek works in translation or works about modern Greek culture in attractive, readable, and convenient formats. We are all, indeed, the richer for it.

—John E. Rexine



The Greek Theater by LEO AYLEN. Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press and London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1985. Pp. 377. Cloth. \$47.50.

Books on the Greek theater abound. What makes this book different is that it has been written by a theater director who has today's theatergoer in mind. Leo Aylen holds an Honors MA from Oxford University and a Ph.D. in drama from Bristol University, where he studied with H. D. F. Kitto. He is also the author of *Greek Tragedy and the Modern World* (1964), and a writer of poetry, of a children's opera, and of a travel book; but, most importantly, in his professional life he has directed productions for the stage, film, and radio in Hollywood, New York, and Great Britain, and from 1972 to 1974 was Poet in Residence at Fairleigh Dickinson University and in 1982 Hooker Distinguished Visiting Professor at McMaster University. Aylen would seem eminently qualified to produce a book that would provide a new perspective on Greek drama and the Greek theater—and he is.

Even though the book is called *The Greek Theater*, it does not show much concern for the archaeological discoveries made about the remains of actual Greek theaters; it is a book about Greek drama and the Greek dramatists and their plays. Aylen equates theater with drama. He finds three general points to be valid for his study: (1) historically, the study of the Greek "theater" is the study of what went on in the theater of Dionysos; (2) the center of Athenian drama was the closely intertwined

and absolutely indistinguishable dance and worship; and (3) the dramatic experience was a totality in which religion, poetry, and theatricality were inseparable and "every play was an act of moral political commitment; every play was an act of worship, and it was through this that every aspect of theater was held in balance with all others" (p. 20).

Leo Aylen argues that he has written this book because Western theater is confused and sick because our society is sick and confused; that one of the ways to restore health to our society is to restore health to the theater; that a real attempt to perform the ancient plays of the four Athenian playwrights as closely as possible as they performed them would open up our theatrical imaginations even more widely than authentic Shakespearean performances; and that we are in a better position to do so than all previous generations.

The Greek Theater would seem to be a kind of summary of Aylen's views of all of Greek, and to some extent, of Roman drama. He provides a discussion of the idea of "empty space," a brief historical summary of the development of drama, a description of festival drama, an explanation of production (setting, actors, masks and costumes), and particularly stresses dance drama and the form of fifth-century drama, before discussing Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes and each of their plays in some detail, as well as satyr plays. Aylen notes that fifth-century drama was created for and derived from the Dionysiac rites in honor of a personal god who possessed peculiar and individual characteristics; that the nature of the festival produced "dance drama"—a particular kind of performance that has never been repeated at any other time in theater history; and that the larger form of this dance drama depended on the fact that the dances were made up of systems (matching *strophes* and *anti-strophes*), in which the same music and dance are reproduced with different words. What was characteristic of the fifth century was not to be characteristic of the fourth, and Aylen provides a comprehensive picture of the reasons for the transition and decline in terms of cultural, political, and religious factors. Religion is viewed to be at the heart of the issue. Aylen sees in Aeschylus a religion of analogy; in Plato a religion of analysis. Aylen then proceeds to describe "formula plays" (new comedy), folk theater, "mimes," and "pantomime," forms of performance not always discussed in books on drama and theater, but very well outlined here. There are seven appendixes with a chronological summary, principles of translation, glossary of terms used, notes on some Greek meters, the *Orestes* music fragment, the surviving plays, and women in the audience during the fifth century. The select bibliography, though it leaves out some important works, is generally quite good.

Aylen's *The Greek Theater* puts great stress on the nude, the sexual, and the erotic in all of the Greek plays and playwrights—not just in the comedies. He is not afraid to talk about the scatological as well. This could turn some readers away from his book, but Aylen argues that it is part of the evidence for the open-mindedness of the ancient Greeks, an open-mindedness that also characterizes contemporary Western culture,

which gives us the opportunity to understand and appreciate Greek drama better than anyone else ever has. At the same time, Aylen insists that Greek drama is characterized by *duende*, an untranslatable Spanish expression that for Federico Garcia Lorca involves a constant sense of the presence and power of death; a basis in the nature of the dance as a religious act; and as a function of dance, song, and spoken poetry—three arts that are inextricably linked. In Aylen's words, "A theater director must even try and analyze the *duende*, because although it is unanalyzable, his job is to create the conditions in which it can happen" (p. 333).

We would seem to have in *The Greek Theater* more than the usual display of scholarly exploration; we have in Leo Aylen's book a personal and professional manifesto of a scholar-teacher-performer on Greek theater and Greek drama. Though some will find much that is familiar and hardly startling, others will find it a *lanx satura* which they might prefer to mix for themselves, rather than have Aylen mix for them. Aylen does make a real contribution in confronting the choreographic code in the lyrics of the Greek plays and in arguing that not only is there a clear choreographic structure for each chorus, but also that the structure of each play in its entirety is a dance-drama—a challenging approach that is totally defensible and theatrically responsible.

—John E. Rexine



The Tragedy of the Turkish Capital Tax by FAIK OKTE (translated by Geoffrey Cox). London: Croom Helm, 1987. 95 pp.

This excellent English translation of the book published in Turkish in 1951 by the former Defterdar (Finance Director) of Istanbul certainly is among the frankest accounts to appear in any country of a tragic and embarrassing incident. In November 1942, the Turkish government passed a law imposing a capital levy (*varlik vergisi*) on private assets. It potentially had economic justifiability in terms of Turkey's severe financial crisis, but it was implemented in such a way as to discriminate unconscionably against non-Muslims and to persecute individuals unmercifully by assessing their assets at extremely high levels; it also imposed severe penalties, including forced labor in eastern Turkey, on those unable to pay.

Okte is brutally frank in discussing the details of the collection of this tax, and he names the names of many officials. There is no doubt that responsibility ran from the heads of the government who conceived the law, which specifically provided for different tax rates for Muslims, non-Muslims, and foreigners, to the local officials who were given full authority to assess valuations (with no right of appeal) and who used their powers with vigor, be it to express anti-minority sentiments, to settle old scores, to eliminate competitors, or to respond to popular beliefs that non-Muslims and foreigners had made large, undeserved, wartime profits through their

European connections. Okte discusses the validity of these varied and possible motivations, although these points are overshadowed by his vivid portrayal of the frequently harsh administration of the tax.

The term "tragedy" is appropriate, from several points of view. Most directly, of course, it caused immeasurable suffering to those individuals affected. However, it was also a tragedy for Turkey. The Turkish nation had been on the road back to international respect, making good progress in its treatment of minorities after the events surrounding the deportations of Armenians and Greeks during and after the First World War, a situation which the tax rudely shattered. Ironically, it was also a tragedy because the tax failed to solve the country's financial crisis. Another unfortunate aspect was that the government caved in to the protests of foreign embassies against the treatment of their citizens resident in Turkey, something which for many, including Okte, smacked all too much of capitulation.

It is significant that an action of this kind has never been repeated in Turkey, and that despite memories of the capital tax on the part of Turkey's non-Muslims, many have stayed on. Foreign readers of Okte's book need to see the capital tax incident, unfortunate though it was, in the context of the long Turkish record of general absence of official but systematic persecution of minorities. (Under Ottoman rule, in accordance with Islamic doctrine, non-Muslims were treated as second-class citizens, but the strictures imposed were seldom as severe as those which Jews, for example, sometimes experienced in Christian countries. Under the Republic the record has, on the whole, been very good.) Perhaps the most important constructive function of Okte's book is that it points out to the Turks themselves that ill-considered actions are fraught with pitfalls.

—Walter F. Weiker